Totela K41

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Chapter 24 Totela (K41)

1. Introduction

1.1. Totela language and speakers

Varieties known as Totela are spoken in parts of the Western Province in Zambia (K41) and the Zambezi Region (formerly, the Caprivi Region) in Namibia (K411). The Zambezi variety may extend to portions of the Southern Province in Zambia as well (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2016), although this is not clearly reflected in census data. Both varieties are spoken in heavy contact situations, and neither has official language status. Lozi (K21) is used as a language of education and wider communication in areas where Totela is spoken, and, especially in Zambia, is rapidly overtaking Totela as a primary language of communication.

The Ethnologue (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2016) rates Totela's status as 6a ("vigorous") on the EGIDS Scale (Lewis & Simons 2010), but if the Western Province variety is considered on its own, the status of 7 ("shifting") or 8a ("moribund") is likely more accurate. Fortune's (1959) survey estimates a total of 14.581 Totela speakers. Zambia's 2010 census report (Central Statistical Office 2012) counts the Totela-speaking population as 1118, although totals appear to be inconsistent across different reports from that census. According to the descriptive tables of the Zambian 2010 census, only 206 people in the Western Province claim Totela as their primary language (Central Statistical Office 2013:159). The numbers derived from Zambian census data may well undercount the actual number of speakers, because they count the primary language of communication rather than all languages spoken, and speakers of Totela are likely to use Lozi as their primary language of communication. However, speaker numbers have steadily declined from the time of Fortune's (1959) survey, and demonstrate a clear shift away from Totela. This shift is particularly serious in Zambia: while members of the childbearing generation generally have some proficiency in Totela, it is rarely spoken in daily life or transmitted to children. The Namibian variety of Totela is part of a dialect continuum with other Zambezi varieties such as Fwe (K402) and Subiya (K42), and along with these other varieties, still enjoys widespread daily use (see e.g. Seidel 2005; de Luna 2010). Namibia's 2011 census does not count Totela separately, but instead groups it with "Caprivi languages", which together are spoken as the primary language of 22.484 households (Namibia Statistics Agency 2013:68). It is difficult to extrapolate numbers of Totela speakers specifically in the Zambezi Region.

1.2. Data sources

Language data in this chapter come primarily from my own fieldwork with Totela speakers in Zambia and Namibia in 2006, 2007, and 2009. Most examples are from Zambian Totela speakers living along the Kwemba River, especially around the small village of Nakwenda. Much of the language data cited in this chapter is also available in Crane (2011), which discusses some of the phenomena mentioned here in greater detail. In case of discrepancies, this chapter supersedes the previous work. Crane (2011) also includes a list of research participants and locations. Examples are drawn from both elicitation and recorded texts, including both narrative and conversational data, with narrative data more heavily represented. This chapter also uses Namibian Totela lexical data for Kathryn de Luna's 2006-2007 *Bantu Botatwe* research field notes (see also de Luna 2016).

Few earlier published works deal with Totela. Baumbach (1997) includes a brief sketch of the Namibian variety, and the language (and/or ethnic group) is mentioned briefly in Torrend (1931),

Bryan (1959), and Fortune (1959; 1963), among a few other sources. Jacottet (1896–1901) includes some Totela songs.

1.2.1. Classification within Bantu Botatwe

Totela is a member the *Bantu Botatwe* (BB) group, which includes various languages in the K30–40 and M60 groups. Totela is spoken in strikingly different varieties in Zambia (henceforth, Zambian Totela or ZT) and Namibia (Namibian Totela or NT). This chapter deals primarily with the Zambian variety, and all data, unless otherwise marked, come from speakers of ZT. A few important differences between ZT and NT are also discussed.

Bostoen (2009) lists innovations relevant for subclassification within Botatwe. These innovations are given in Table 1 (adapted from Crane 2011:54),[1] along with their outcomes in languages spoken around the Zambezi (left side) and in Zambia (right side). Apart from issues related to the vocalic augment, discussed below in 3.3, Namibian Totela patterns with its neighbours in the Zambezi Region, while Zambian Totela resembles Group M languages Tonga and Ila. Indeed, at least some speakers of ZT consider their language a variety of Ila (it may be even closer to Toka-Leya (M64)); the same speakers tend to label NT as "Subiya".

Innovation	Fwe K402	Subiya K42	NT K411	ZT K41	Tonga M64	Ila M63
*p-lenition p > h > Ø	h (/Ø)	h	h	p/w/Ø	p/w/Ø	p/w/Ø
*j-lenition: dʒ > ʒ > z > s > Ø	ʒ	Ø/z	Ø/z	Ø/z/y	Ø/z/y	Ø/ʒ
H-tone anticipation	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes
augment vowel aperture	yes	n/a	no	yes	no	n/a
uniformisation of vocalic augment	no	n/a	no	no	yes	n/a
loss of vocalic augment	no	yes	partial	no	no	yes
merger of places of articulation before *u	no	no	no	no	no	yes
spirant devoicing	no	no	no	no	no	no
generalization of li- as cl. 5 prefix	no	no	no	no	no	no

Table 1: Innovations within Bantu Botatwe

1.2.2. Orthographic conventions

In sections 2.1–2.2, forms are given as IPA transcriptions. In the remainder of the chapter, a practical orthography is employed, based primarily on orthographies for other languages in the area. Differences from IPA transcription are as follows: *b* in the orthography = [β] in the IPA; *bb* = [b] (but *mb* = [mb]); *ny* = [ɲ]; *sh* = [ʃ]; *ch* = [tʃ]; *j* = [dʒ]; *hu* ≈ [h̃$^{(w)}$u]; *nk* = [ŋk]; *y* = [j].

Surface tones are marked exhaustively when they have been verified. Namibian Totela examples are not marked for tone, as a thorough analysis of the system is still needed. In Zambian Totela examples, morae that appear to be lexically associated with underlying (input) H tones are underlined; melodic Hs are indicated with a subscript $_{H}$. Note that regarding some grammatical morphemes, evidence is equivocal as to whether they are associated with lexical H tone or not. These include subject prefixes and most tense/aspect markers. For the sake of consistency, I do not underline subject markers (except with relative clauses) or other tense/aspect prefixes, although I

[1] Data are taken from Bostoen (Bostoen 2009) for Fwe, Tonga, and Ila; a portion of the Subiya data is from de Luna (2008).

think it is likely that they are underlyingly H, and indeed, an anticipated H can be observed in some cases. In cases of glides or syllables with automatic lengthening (sometimes with falling tones), lexical H tones are marked on the singleton vowel; the tone status can be deduced by HTA behaviour.

2. Phonology

2.1. Vowels

Totela has a five-vowel system with contrastive length.

(1)i u ii uu
e o ee oo
a aa

2.1.1. Vowel length

In verbs, only the first root syllable can have lexically contrastive length.

(2) a. -ßòòlà ‘return’ b. -ßòlà ‘rot’
c. -kù̲ùlà ‘climb’ d. -kù̲là ‘grow’

Long and short vowels also contrast in their melodic H tone patterns; a H on a long vowel in penultimate position on a verb is realized as falling. A few exceptions, such as *bóólà*! ‘return, come back!’ likely have consonant loss or other historical explanations.

(3) a. súk-à$_{H}$!
rub.together-FV.IMP
‘rub together!’ (e.g. cloth)
b. sú̲ùk-à$_{H}$!
descend-FV.IMP
‘come down!’

Duration of long vowels in these contexts is approximately double the duration of short vowels. When not in penultimate position, the length distinction is not as pronounced, nor is there a tonal contrast in melodic H patterns. Example (4) shows that a long-vowed stem *-zaanina* ‘play with’ behaves the same as trisyllabic stems without length, e.g. *-ukuta* ‘shake’.

(4) a. tàndìzáànà
ta-ndi-zaan-a$_{H}$
NEG-SP$_{1SG}$-play-FV
‘I don’t play’
b. tàndìzáánìnà
ta-ndi-zaan-in$_{H}$-a
NEG-SP$_{1SG}$-play-APPL-FV
‘I don’t play with’
c. tàndìúkùtà
ta-ndi-ukut$_{H}$-a
NEG-SP$_{1SG}$-shake-FV
‘I don’t shake’

In noun stems, long vowels are attested in all positions, although non-stem-initial long vowels can mostly be attributed to compounds or other derivations. The length contrast seems to be less pronounced in pre-penultimate positions.

(5)

nsáà	'duiker'	òlú-tàláà	'platform'
káázè	'cat'	páàtì	'velvet ant'
àkà-tìitè	'warbler'	(kàngá)sàséèlà	'bird (sp.)'
òlù-ɲàméènò	'worm lizards'	ìn-kúlùkúùbì	'butterfly'
ɪ́ᵸm-báálà	'barbfish'	òmú-ᵸláálà	'leftovers'
èchì-kóókò	'grass (sp.)'	èchì-sùùkà	'pinnacle of plaited grass on top of hut'
ì-tóònólò	'good luck'	èchì-zòòlìsò	'stirring paddle'
(*also* ì-tóhònólò)			

In nouns, the functional load of length in lexical contrasts appears to be somewhat marginal; the best example in my data is the near minimal-pair *mùlálà* 'snake (sp.)' and *òmú ᵸláálà* 'leftovers'.

Automatic vowel lengthening occurs before prenasalized stops (e.g. [àbà:ntù] 'people'), also triggering a HL falling pattern in bisyllabic verbs with melodic tone ([wâ:mbà] 'talk!'). CGV sequences also trigger lengthening and have the tone patterns associated with long vowels. More analysis is needed to understand the phonetic nature of vowel length in CGV sequences. Palatal nasal *ɲ* (*ny* in the orthography) is a single consonant, rather than a CV sequence, and does not trigger lengthening or a falling tone pattern in imperatives, as shown by the contrast in (6).

(6) a. ɲénà!
ɲen-a$_{H}$
feel.shame-FV.IMP
'be ashamed!'

b. ɲéèzà!
ɲeez-a$_{H}$
annoy.CAUS-FV.IMP
'annoy!'

Long vowels can also be conditioned by vowel coalescence (2.1.2), both within (e.g. with possessive prefixes and roots) and across words (see Table 2). TAM markers are frequently lengthened before monosyllabic stems. Additionally, all falling tones are realised with some degree of length; the phonological status of some of these lengths is unclear (e.g. in the final vowel of some demonstrative forms).

In this chapter, only vowel length that is (potentially) lexically contrastive will be distinguished in the orthography. Automatic lengthening and intonational lengthening are not marked, as this would result in orthographic inconsistencies. Both kinds of lengthening are interesting and merit further investigation.

2.1.2. Vowel-vowel interactions

Vowel coalescence occurs both in and across words, particularly when the initial vowel in the sequence is /a/ or /e/. Non-coalescing, non-homorganic VV sequences with /i/, /o/ or /u/ as the initial vowel tend to surface as GV sequences; a (weak) glide is often inserted when vowels meet across syllables. Initial /i/ generally either surfaces as /(C)yV/ or is deleted. In sequences where /o/

or /u/ are initial, the sequence is either pronounced /wV/, or both vowels in the sequence are pronounced. Outcomes of such vowels meeting across words are variable. A few segments that may have their morphological roots in coalescence of /u/ and /o/ surface as *o(o)*. Gliding vs. deletion in segments with initial /i/ is not always regular or consistent, especially following alveolar or palatal fricatives or affricates (7). Additional phonetic study would be enlightening.

(7) a. e̱tʃáà̱là 'fingernail' (cl. 7 è̱chí-à̱là)
b. è̱zyâ̱là 'fingernails' (cl. 8 èzí-àlà)

Length resulting from vowel coalescence, especially across words, is often more pronounced than lexical vowel length. The major vowel coalescences are shown in Table 2.

V1	V2	Surface form	Example
a/e	a	a(a)	ò̱kúßò̱nà + à̱ßàntù > ò̱kúßò̱náà̱ßàntù 'to see people'
a/e	i/e	e(e)	ò̱kúßònà + è̱mìnzì > ò̱kúßò̱néè̱mìnzì' to see villages'
a/e	o	o(o)	ò̱kúßò̱nà + ò̱mùntù > ò̱kúßò̱nóò̱mùntù 'to see a person'
a/e	u	a(w)u / o(o)	ná-ù-lá-ßò̱n-a (posthodiernal 2nd person future) > ná(w)ùláßò̱nà / nóò̱láßò̱nà 'you will see'

Table 2: Vowel-vowel interactions across morphemes/words

2.2. Consonants

Consonants are given in Table 3. Consonants appearing rarely or predominantly in loanwords are given in parentheses.

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p (b)		t (d)			k (g)	
Nasal	m		n		ɲ	ŋ	
Fricative	ß	f	s z	(ʃ)			(h)/h^{w}
Affricate					tʃ (dʒ)		
Lat. app.			l				
Approx.	w				y		

Table 3: Totela consonant inventory

Non-prenasalised voiced stops are relatively rare, occurring most frequently in loanwords. Outside of obvious borrowings, non-prenasalised voiced stops almost always occur stem-initially (e.g. *ì̱dòkòlà* 'edible grass (sp.)'). Voiced stops with prenasalisation are more common than voiceless prenasalised stops. However, all non-nasal consonants are attested with prenasalisation, with the exception of [l] (instead realised as [nd]; e.g. class 7 *è̱chí-lò̱tù* vs. class 9 *ín-dò̱tù* 'good, beautiful'), ß (instead realised as [mb]), and [f]. When not prenasalised, [dʒ] only occurs after [i]. [ŋ] is relatively rare and often attributable historically to Meinhof's rule (NCVNCV > NVNCV), e.g. *ìŋ̀òmbè* 'cattle' (*gombe) and *íŋ̀ò̱ngì* 'chief's bell/gong' (*gɑnga; Lozi *ngongi*).

When the voiceless glottal fricative occurs before [u] or [w], it is usually labialised, and it and surrounding vowels are often pronounced with some degree of nasalisation. This nasalisation is far more pronounced when *h* is prenasalised (realised as [h̃]), as in class 9 *ínhwì̱* [ĩh̃w̃ì̃] gray hair'. There are no attested lexical contrasts between nasal and non-nasal *h^{w}u*. A few speakers also used labialised glottal fricatives where the majority of speakers in my research areas use [fw], suggesting

a possible voicing contrast, as in Tonga (Carter 2002:4–7), but this has not been studied systematically and the voicing contrast is not clear. Non-labialized glottal fricatives [h] occur mostly in borrowings. In Namibian Totela and some other Totela varieties in Zambia, cognate forms (often from Proto-Bantu *bu and *gu) are realised with [ßu] or [vu].

	Bilabial	**Labio-dental**	**Alveolar**	**Post-alveolar**	**Palatal**	**Velar**	**Glottal**
Plosive	mp mb		nt nd			ŋk ŋg	
Fricative			ns nz	(nʃ)			h̃
Affricate					(ntʃ)(ndʒ)		

Table 4: Prenasalised consonants

In both lexical items and in derivations, Totela exhibits completely reduced spirantisation of stops to alveolar fricatives before PB **i*, and partially-reduced spirantisation before PB **u*. Totela correspondences with Proto-Bantu non-nasal consonants are given in Table 5.

PB	**before *i**	**before *u**	**elsewhere**
*p	s	f	∅, w, p
*b	z	h^w ($\tilde{h}^w$)	ß
*t	s	s, f	t
*d	z	z	l
*c	s	s	s
*j			∅, y, z
*k	s	f	tʃ, k
*g	z	h ($\tilde{h}$)	∅, y, w

Table 5: Correspondences with Proto-Bantu consonants

2.2.1. NT-ZT correspondences

Namibian and Zambian varieties have a number of regular sound correspondences, given in Table 6 along with the relevant Proto-Bantu correspondences.

***PB**	**ZT**	**NT**
*p	∅/ p / w	h
*gu,*bu	hu (h̃ũ) / vu / ßu	vu / ßu
*kɪ, *ke	tʃ	tʃ, dʒ
*j	y,z	y
*ŋg	ŋg	ŋg, ndʒ
	dʒ	h

Table 6: ZT/NT sound correspondences

The status of [v] in NT is somewhat uncertain; at least some speakers appear to have merged (or nearly merged) it with [ß], although other speakers use [v] before [u] and [ß] elsewhere. All prenasalized consonants not noted in the table are the same across Totela varieties.

2.3. Tone

Totela's tone system can be analysed as H/Ø. An alternative analysis, proposed by Hyman (2007 for Tonga; 2016 for Totela) is a L vs. Ø system. Surface (non-intonational) tones can be H or L on

short vowels, and H:, L: or HL falling on long vowels. In addition to vowels, syllabic nasals /m/ and /n/ can bear tone word-initially.

Toneless syllables following the last H tone in an utterance are pronounced with extra low pitch, making the H tone perceptually prominent. In general, the most salient feature of a H tone is a subsequent drop in pitch. Toneless vowels preceding H-toned syllables are frequently realised with progressively higher tone, and sometimes even with plateauing, as in Tonga (see e.g. Carter 1971). However, speakers produce these tones variably and accept pronunciations with and without pre-H raising or plateauing, as long as the H tone itself is salient. Downdrift is highly apparent in the realization of H and L tones alternating in sequence.

Nouns can have underlying H tone on any stem syllable, although surface HH is prohibited. Verbs have a lexical contrast between root H and Ø. Tonal minimal pairs occur both in nouns and verbs, although they are relatively rare (e.g. *òkúkùlà* 'to grow' and *òkùkùlà* 'to sweep; *òmùbàlà* 'person who carried' and *òmúbàlà* 'colour'). TAMN forms have three main melodic tone patterns, described in Section 4.2.109.

The most striking feature of the Totela tone system is High-tone anticipation (HTA), in which an underlying H tone surfaces on the preceding syllable. The H tone of underlying H verb roots thus surfaces on (e.g.) the class 15 infinitive prefix *oku-*, as in (8).

(8) òkù-wà 'to fall' òkú-pà 'to give'
òkù-kùlà 'to sweep òkú-kùlà 'to grow'
òkù-ŋàtà(w)ùlà 'to cut to pieces' òkú-bàbàlèlà 'to care for'

HTA in nouns can be seen in the Proto-Bantu correspondences in Table 7. H tones that occur underlyingly on a stem-initial syllable surface on the noun-class prefix. Meeussen's Rule historically lowered the second H in a H-H sequence within the stem, neutralizing the Proto-Bantu H-H/H-L contrast.

	PB	**Totela**
HH	*-kódó	òmú-kùlù 'adult'
HL	*-bókò	í-bòkò 'arm'
LH	*-gòdí	òlù-wózì 'string'
LL	*-dèdù	òmù-lèzù 'beard'

Table 7: Totela – PB tone correspondences

High-tone anticipation occurs both across and within words, with some restrictions on sequences of H tones. Underlying H tones on word-initial syllables shift to the final syllable of a preceding word, with some restrictions. As seen in (9), an initial H tone is not realized post-pausally (9a), but can be anticipated onto a prefix or proclitic (9b–d, f), or onto the final syllable of a preceding word. (9e) shows that two initial underlying H tones can condition downstep across words.

(9) a. Sìmùnyè(w)ù 'Beetle' (cl 1a)
b. bá=Sìmùnyè(w)ù 'Mr. Beetle' (respect)
c. kwá=Sìmùnyè(w)ù 'to Beetle' (cl 17 locative)
d. kù=bá=Sìmùnyè(w)ù 'to Mr. Beetle' (cl 17 locative, respect)
e. òkù-yá ˈkwá=Sìmùnyè(w)ù ' 'to go to Beetle'
f. òkù-yá kù=bá=Sìmùnyè(w)ù 'to go to Mr. Beetle' (respect)

If an input final H (including grammatical Hs) meets an input initial H, the tone from the initial H is not anticipated onto the final syllable (10b). An exception is in cases of monosyllabic stems (11f).

(10) a. òkú-bòn-á à-bántù ‘to see people’
b. tà-ndì-sák-ìH à-bántù ‘I don’t like people.’ (*tándìsákí, *tándìsáꜜkí)

Downstep also occurs across words if a final falling tone is shortened to a H tone and followed by another H, as in (10d, f).

(11) a. yùmwíì ‘another one’ (cl 1)
b. ná=yùmwíì ‘and another one’
c. hápè ‘again’ (Lozi)
d ná=yùmwí ꜜhápè ‘and another one again’
e. tàlíH sìmánkàmbwê ‘it’s not a bird (sp.)’
f. tàlíH ꜜbá-sìmánkàmbwê ‘it’s not birds (sp.)’

HTA across words is in part syntactically conditioned. A H does not seem to shift from a verb to a preceding lexical subject (or any other preceding word) in a main clause (12a). HTA occurs from verbs to preceding words in both subject (12b) and object (12c) relative clauses. That main clause subject markers also carry H tone is suggested by posthodiernal futures, where the posthodiernal marker *na-* surfaces as H (e.g. *náchìlàùlùkà* ‘it will fly’). However, the tone status of word-initial subject markers is not certain in all contexts, and they are therefore not represented as underlyingly H in the rest of this chapter.

(12) a. èchì-yùnì chì-là-ùlùk-à
7-bird SP7-DJ-fly-FV
‘the bird is flying’
b. èchì-yùní chà-yîmb-àH chì-là-ùlùk-à
7-bird SP7.CMPL-sing-FV.RC SP7-DJ-fly-FV
‘the bird that sang is flying’
c. chíìbó èchì-yùní mwà-bón-àH?
NP7.which 7-bird SP2PL.CMPL-see-FV.RC
‘which bird did you see?’

Some proclitics, such as comitative *na=* (‘with, and’), appear to block HTA, perhaps also for syntactic reasons. Although *na=* can host anticipated H tones, as in (11b, d), they do not surface with H tones when they coalesce with H-toned vocalic augments (or the initial vowel in the case of class 9), nor does the tone shift to the final syllable of the preceding word, as seen in the contrast between (13a–b) and in (13c).

(13) a. Ndì-lí-kwèsí ìŋòmbè
SP1SG-STAT.DJ-hold.STAT 9.cow
‘I have a cow’
b. Ndì-nà n-èŋòmbè
SP1SG-have COM-9.cow
‘I have a cow’
c. À-mé-ènzì nò-bú-kòkò, ndì-lá-zì-nwà
AUG-6-water COM.AUG-14-beer SP1SG-DJ-OP10-drink.FV
‘Water and beer, I drink them’

Although downstep is generally not seen within inflected verbs (though see (15c)), the negative form of infinitives exhibits downstep with H-toned roots.

(14) a. ò̲kù-sèk-à — ò̲kú-sà̲-sèk-à
INF-laugh-FV — INF-NEG-laugh-FV
'to laugh' — 'to not laugh'

b. ò̲kú-yà̲s-à — ò̲kú-ˈsá-yà̲s-à
INF-spear-FV — INF-NEG-spear-FV
'to spear' — 'to not spear'

Downstep occurs within words where a H tone would otherwise surface on the second mora of a long vowel that is preceded by another H. (Non-intonational) LH vowels are not licit, so the entire vowel is realised as ˈH (15a–b). Downstep can also occur if gliding or vowel assimilation creates two adjacent Hs (15c).

(15) a. ò̲múˈdá̲á̲là̲ 'old man' (cl. 1)
b. ì̲ˈbbú̲ú̲lè̲ 'weed' (cl. 5)
c. ná-ˈmw-îz-è$_{H}$ 'come!' (tomorrow or after)

The interactions between syntax, prosody, HTA and downstep, as well as the overall effect of information structure on tonal realisations are not fully understood, and merit further study in Totela. The constraints on downstep across words are discussed further in section 3.4.3.

2.3.1. Tone in NT

A major difference between Zambian and Namibian Totela varieties is that while Zambian Totela exhibits H-tone anticipation, Namibian Totela does not appear to do so, as seen in the correspondences in Table 8. The tone system of Namibian Totela requires further investigation and analysis.

ZT	NT	
à̲má-fù̲tà	mà-fútà	'fat, oil'
ò̲kú-bò̲n-à	kù-bón-à	'to see'
ò̲kú-là̲à̲l-à	kù-láàl-à	'to (go to) sleep'

Table 8: Some ZT–NT tone correspondences

2.4. Syllable structure

Syllables in Totela can have the shape (N)(C)(G)V(:). At the beginning of a word, a nasal can also be syllabic and carry tone (e.g. *ńsè̲nzì* 'monitor lizard'). Glides are often inserted between two heterosyllabic vowels.

3. Nouns and noun phrases

3.1. Noun classes

Totela employs 18 noun classes, along with sub-classes 1a and 2a, which have slightly different morphology. Classes 1a and 2a trigger class 1 and 2 agreement marking, respectively. Most nouns fall into classes 1–14; class 15 is the infinitive class. A very few nouns (e.g. *òkútwì* 'ear') also fall

into class 15, although they largely eschew class 15 agreement morphology (see 3.5 below). Classes 8 and 10 have different nominal prefixes but are identical in their agreement morphology. Classes 16–18 are the locative classes and have limited agreement patterns.

In class 5, the *i̱-* prefix alternates with *(e̱)li-*. Like in most Botatwe languages, the *e̱li-* prefix appears before most vowel-initial stems (see Bostoen 2009); it also appears with several (though not all) class 5 prenasalised stop-initial noun stems, perhaps to distinguish them from class 9 nouns. Examples with *e̱li-* include *è̱lî̱nsò* 'eye', *èlíi̱nò* 'tooth', *èlío̱wà* 'cowardice', *è̱lya̱là* 'fingernail, claw', *è̱lìnhù* 'wasp', *è̱lìmbùlùkùtù* 'edible tuber (sp.)', *è̱línkàlwê* 'edible tuber (sp.)', *è̱lìngòngwè(/ìngòngwè)* and *è̱lìnzìmbwà* 'cowardice'. At least one noun, *í ʼmba̱là* 'slender topminnow', can take either class 5 or class 9 agreement.

The pronominal prefix agreement marker occurs on possessive pronouns and other connective constructions (3.4.3).

NC	Prefix	SM	OM	PP/ in connect-ives	Poss	Num Prefix	Some Demon-stratives	Adj Prefix
1	(o)mu-	a-	-mu-	u-	-àkwéè	e-	yu-	(o)mu-
1a	∅	a-	-mu-	u-	-àkwéè	e-	yu-	(o)mu-
2	(a)ba-	ba-	-ba-	ba-	-àbò	bo-	ba-	(a)ba-
2a	ba=	ba-	-ba-	ba-	-àbò	bo-	ba-	(a)ba-
3	(o)mu-	u-	-mu-	u-	-àwóò	wo-	wu-	(o)mu-
4	(e)mi-	i-	-i-	i-	-àyóò	yo-	yi-	(e)mi-
5	i-/(e)li-	li-	-li-	li-	-àlóò	lyo-	li	(e-/)i-
6	(a)ma-	a-	-a-	a-	-àwóò	o-	a-	(a)ma-
7	(e)chi-	chi-	-chi-	chi-	-àchóò	cho-	chi-	(e)chi-
8	(e)zi-	zi-	-zi-	zi-	-àzóò	zo-	zi-	(e)zi-
9	iN-	i-	-i-	i-	-àyóò	yo-	yi-	iN-
10	iN-	zi-	-zi-	zi-	-àzóò	zo-	zi-	(e)zi-
11	(o)lu-	lu-	-lu-	lu-	-àlóò	lo-	li-	(o)lu-
12	(a)ka-	ka-	-ka-	ka-	-àkóò	ko-	ka-	(a)ka-
13	(o)tu-	tu-	-tu-	tu-	-àtóò	to-	tu-	(o)tu-
14	(o)bu-	bu-	-bu-	bu-	-àbóò	bo-	bu-	(o)bu-
15	(o)ku-	ku-	-ku-	ku-/u-	-àkóò	(e-/ko-)	ku-	(o)ku-
16	a-	a-	=wóò	**	**	**	a-	a-
17	ku-	ku-	=kóò	**	**	**	ku-	ku-
18	mu-	mu-	=móò	**	**	**	mu-	mu-

Table 9: Noun class agreement morphology

3.1.1. Singular/plural pairings

Attested singular/plural pairings are given in Figure 1. As seen, class 6 functions as a "catch-all" plural for many noun classes, including some nouns from classes 1 and 9, which have regular plurals in 2 and 10, respectively; class 11, which has plurals in class 6 and 10 (and sometimes allows either); and classes 14 and 15, which only have plurals in class 6.

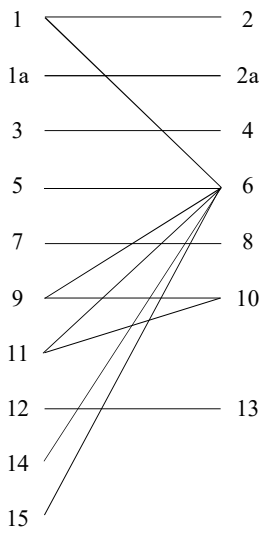

Figure 1: Attested singular / plural pairings

3.1.2. Noun class semantics

Totela's noun class semantics are typical for Bantu. Generally speaking, class 1 contains words for people, and class 1a is used for proper names and personifications of animals. Class 3 nouns include names for trees, long objects, and other plants and natural phenomena. Class 5 contains a variety of nouns, including fruits, often with the same root as the corresponding tree in class 3. Class 6 is a plural for many classes and also is used as the basic form for liquids and some abstract concepts (e.g. *àmámbèngò* 'tobacco cravings'). Class 7 is used for (among other things) languages, tools, and concrete objects. Class 9 is a general class, also including fruits and many animals. Nouns are often borrowed into class 9. Class 11 hosts a relatively small number of nouns, including some types of grass; many class 11 nouns may be characterized as long, thin, and flexible (e.g. *òlùnyàméènò* 'worm lizards', *òlùsûngà* 'belt', *òlùwózì,* 'rope', *òlòngòlà* 'backbone', *òlùmòmà* 'termites (pl.)'). Class 12 is used with small things; its plural in class 13 can additionally be used for small quantities of mass nouns, as in *òtùbísì* 'a few drops of sour milk'. Class 14 includes abstract qualities and some liquids.

Secondary uses of noun classes include class 5 *i-* as an augmentative, class 7 *echi-* as a general pejorative, or for very strong people or things, and class 12 (and 13) as general diminutives and pejoratives (e.g. *òmùchèmbèlè* cl. 1 'old person'; *àkàchèmbèlè* cl. 12 'decrepit/wicked old person').

Class 2a is used as a marker of respect, and is used almost universally when addressing or referring to adults, much as the 2nd-person plural is preferred to the 2nd-person singular in polite conversation. Classes 1a and 2a are used to refer to many animals, sometimes as personification but often also as a conventionalized reference, the original noun class prefixes (sans augment) are treated as part of the noun stem, as seen in (17) and (18).

(16) bà=Sishau tà-bà-sák-ì$_{H}$ èchì-sìyù
2a=Sishau NEG-SP$_2$-want-FV.NEG 7-cooked.greens
'(Mr.) Sishau doesn't want cooked greens'

(17) chìkwàngálà à-là-ùlùk-à
1a.pied.crow SP$_1$-DJ-fly-FV
'the pied crow is flying'

(18) bà=chìkwàngálà bà-là-ùlùk-à
2a=pied.crow SP$_2$-DJ-fly-FV
'the pied crows are flying'

3.2. Nouns

3.2.1. Nominal and adverbial derivation

Deverbal nouns referring to persons who engage in an activity typically take final vowel *-i*, as in (19). A different pattern is seen in *òmúfù* 'dead person' from *òkúfwà* 'to die'. Non-person nominal derivations frequently, though not uniformly, take final *-o* (20). Deverbal nouns, in general, have the same tone pattern as the verb from which they derive. Lexicalised deverbal nouns exhibit consonant mutation before final *-i* (19e–g); (20d), while derived deverbal nouns typically do not (19f, h); note especially the form and (approximate) meaning contrast in (19f). Nouns derived from monosyllabic verbs were historically subject to minimality constraints, adding a syllable, which was subsequently also affected by consonant mutation (19a-c).

(19) a. òkútwà 'to stamp' òmútwìsì 'stamper'
b. òkúsyà 'to dig' òmúsìsì 'digger'
c. òkùnyà 'to defecate' òmùnìnì 'defecator'
d. òkùlìmà 'to cultivate' òmùlìmì 'farmer'
e. òkùlòwà 'to bewitch' òmùlòzì 'witch'
f. òkùyèndà 'walk, go' òmùyènzì '~visitor' / òmùyèndì '~walker'
g. òkúzààlà 'to give birth' òmúzààzì 'parent'
h. òkúŋòlà 'to write' òmúŋòlì 'writer'

(20) a. òkúpònà 'to live' òbúpònò 'life'
b. òkùlàpèlà 'to pray' ìntàpèlò 'prayer'
c. òkúlòòtà 'to dream' èchílòòtò 'dream'
d. òkúpèngà 'to suffer' àmápènzì 'troubles'

Class 14 *bu-*, used as a subject marker, derives participle-like manner adverbials from verbs. These adverbials have a relative-clause-like melodic tone pattern in which the H surfaces on the penult (see 4.2.10~~9~~ for description of this tone pattern) condition HTA onto the previous word. They appear in constructions following an inflected form of *-ya* 'go' (21). Gunnink (2018) describes similar forms as "locative pluractionals" in Fwe.

(21) b-à-(y)-á bù-yîmb-à$_{H}$
SP$_2$-CMPL-go-FV SP$_{14}$-sing-FV
'they went (along) singing'

These forms can also be used with iterative or distributive (and often progressive) meaning, as in (22)–(24).

(22) kà-zì-y-á$_{H}$ bù-w-â$_{H}$
PREHOD.IPFV-SP$_{10}$-go-FV SP$_{14}$-fall-FV
'They [the beans] were falling [from the baskets as he went along].'

(23) kù-y-á bù-mín-à$_{H}$ àbà-ntù
NARR-go-FV SM$_{14}$-swallow-FV 2-person
'[the ogre] went around swallowing people.'

kù-y-á bù-mín-à$_{H}$ kù-y-á bù-mín-à$_{H}$
NARR-go-FV SM$_{14}$-swallow-FV NARR-go-FV SP$_{14}$-swallow-FV
'He was swallowing and swallowing [them].'

(24) zì-mwî, z-à-kà-y-á bù-yúm-à$_{H}$;
DEMP$_{10}$-some/other SP$_{10}$-CMPL-PREHOD-go-FV SP$_{14}$-dry-FV
'some of them [the groundnuts] (have already) dried;

zì-mwî, tà-zí-n-ì$_{H}$ kú-yùm-à
DEMP$_{10}$-some/other NEG-SP$_{10}$-have-FV.NEG INF-dry-FV
'Others haven't dried yet.'

Class 14 adverbials can also take distal *-ka-* marking (25), as well as object marking (26).

(25) bà-kà-y-á bù-kà-yîmb-à$_{H}$
SP$_{2}$-DIST-go-FV SP$_{14}$-DIST-sing-FV
'they went along [somewhere far from here] singing'

(26) bà-kà-y-á bù-mù-tòbél-à$_{H}$
SP$_{2}$-DIST-go-FV SP$_{14}$-OP$_{1}$-sing-FV
'they went around looking for him'

Locative prefixes supplant the augment and carry a H tone that is anticipated on the previous word. Locative prefixes to class 1a nouns require the connective *a-*.

(27) a. ò-mù-lóngà
AUG-3-river
'river'
b. ò-kù-y-á kù=mù-lóngà
AUG-INF-go-FV 17(LOC)-3-river
'to go to the river'

3.3. Augment

In Zambian Totela, noun class prefixes have a vocalic augment (pre-prefix) in most contexts. They are absent in vocative (28b), affirmative and negative copular constructions with *-li* 'be' (29b; 30b) and copular forms for some noun classes (30b), which are also used as citation forms (31b). Augments in Zambian Totela have undergone lowering/aperture, as in, for example, class 1 *omu-* and class 4 *emi-*. Classes 5, 9, and 10 retain initial *i*, with H tone. (An exception is the adverbial

ìjìlò, which takes class 5 agreement but does not condition HTA; cf. *sùnù* 'today', which does condition HTA.) Classes 1a and 2a lack augments.

(28) a. à-kà-móngè
AUG-12-blue.duiker
'blue duiker'
b. kà-móngè!
12-blue.duiker
'(hey) blue duiker!' (vocative)

(29) a. ò-mù-ntù
AUG-1-person
'person'
b. tà-lí$_{H}$ mù-ntù
NEG-be 1-person
'it's not a person'

(30) a. ò-mù-lútì
AUG-1-teacher
'teacher'
b. ndì-lì mù-lútì / ò-mú-ˈkwámè mù-lútì
SP$_{1SG}$-be 1-teacher AUG-1-man 1-teacher
'I'm a teacher' / 'the man is a teacher'

(31) a. è-chí-sèmò
AUG-7-love
'love'
b. chí-sèmò
7-love
'love' (citation form)

Augments are another area in which Namibian and Zambian varieties differ significantly. In Namibian Totela, augments have not undergone aperture (class 1 (*u*)*mu*- and class 4 (*i*)*mi*-), and generally only occur when "entrapped" in prosodic units in certain contexts, or in extremely careful speech. Contexts in which the augment is found include following proclitics and prefixes (32) and the final vowels of previous words, except when the noun is directly under the scope of negation (as in (35), (36b), (37), (38b); cf. (34), (36a), (37), (38a), where the noun is outside the direct scope of negation and the augment) (Crane 2011). The class 9 and 10 augment *i*- seems to have been reanalysed as part of the prefix, possibly in analogy to the class 5 prefix *i*-, and appears in all contexts. The augment in Namibian Totela is variably used even in many of the contexts noted here (seemingly independently of information structural considerations), suggesting its ongoing marginalisation in that system.

(32) a. nechizuni
na=i-chi-zuni
COM=AUG-7-bird
'and/with a/the bird' (NT)
b. zomuzi
z-a-u-mu-zi
PP$_{10}$-CON-AUG-3-village
'about a/the village' (NT)
c. muzi womwanakazi
mu-zi w-a-o-mu-anakazi

3-village PP$_3$-CON-AUG-1-woman
'the village of the woman' (NT)

(33) **chi-zuni** chi-uluk-a
7-bird SP$_7$-fly-FV
'the bird is flying' (NT)

(34) ndisak'ezizuni
ndi-sak-a **i-zi-zuni**
SP$_{1SG}$-want-FV **AUG-8-bird**
'I want (the) birds' (NT)

(35) kandisaki zizuni
ka-ndi-sak-i **zi-zuni**
NEG-SP$_{1SG}$-want-FV.NEG **8-bird**
'I don't want a bird' (NT)

(36) a. kandisak'iŋombe kap'echizuni
ka-ndi-sak-i iŋ-ombe kapa **i-chi-zuni**
NEG-SP$_{1SG}$-want-FV 9-cattle or **AUG-7-bird**
'I don't want a cow or a bird' (NT)
b. kandisaki chizunikap'eŋombe
ka-ndi-sak-i **chi-zuni** kapa iŋ-ombe
NEG-SP$_{1SG}$-want-FV **7-bird** or 9-cattle
'I don't want a bird or a cow' (NT)

(37) kandisaki kuly'echisihu
ka-ndi-sak-i ku-li-a **i-chi-sihu**
NEG-SP$_{1SG}$-want-FV INF-eat-FV **AUG-7-greens**
'I don't want to eat cooked greens' (NT)

(38) a. ndisaka'hulw'ezizuni
ndi-sak-a ahulu i-zi-zuni
SP$_{1SG}$-want-FV a.lot AUG-8-bird
'I like birds very much' (NT)
b. kandisaki ahulu zizuni
ka-ndi-sak-i ahulu **zi-zuni**
NEG-SP$_{1SG}$-want-FV a.lot **8-bird**
'I don't like birds much' (NT)

3.4. Pronouns and nominal modifiers

3.4.1. Demonstratives and pronouns

Totela has a complex system of demonstratives and pronouns, distinguished variously by segmental morphology, final vowel, vowel length, and tone patterns. Demonstratives can precede or follow the noun they modify, and also serve as independent (substitutive) pronouns and as relative markers. Some of the more common forms are illustrated in this section. Observations on demonstrative semantics given here should be regarded as tentative.

Personal pronouns are given in Table 10. Speakers in some areas use *ínywè* for 2PL, while others use *ínwè*.

Person	Singular	Plural
1	ímɛ̀	ísɛ̀wɛ̀
2	íwɛ̀	ínwɛ̀ / ínywɛ̀
3	óyù	ábà

Table 10: Personal pronouns

Table 11 gives the major basic demonstrative forms. The nearest demonstratives, ending in *-no*, are used when the speaker (often in contrast to the hearer) is near or inside of the referent. They are frequently used when calling others to come to the speaker and referent. They also are used in temporal expressions, e.g. *chìnó èchìlìmò* 'this year'. VCV forms are used when the referent is near the speaker (and often also the hearer). VCo forms are used for referents near the hearer, in contrast to the speaker, and are among the most frequent anaphoric forms. Forms ending in *-lya* indicate distance from speaker (with great distance indicated iconically through length and overall higher pitch, in addition to the final falling tone). In my preliminary data, the short *-lya* forms do not seem to attend to the position of the hearer, so that there may be spatial overlap between the VCo and *-lya* forms; the latter were given more frequently in elicitation. Underlying tones are not indicated for demonstrative forms because not all are confirmed in initial position; tonal variation in demonstratives requires further study.

	-no	**VCV**	**VCo**	***-lya***	***-lyáà***
NC	**'this here' (very near speaker)**	**'this' (near speaker)**	**'that' (near hearer; anaphoric)**	**'that over there' (away from speaker)**	**'that way over there' (far from speaker)**
1(a)	?	òyù	òyò	yùlyà	yùlyáà
2(a)	?	àbà	àbò	bàlyà	bàlyáà
3	ùnò	òwù	òwò	wùlyà	wùlyáà
4	ìnò	èyì	èyò	ìlyà	ìlyáà
5	lìnò	èlì	èlyò	lìlyà	lìlyáà
6	ànò	àwà	àwò	àlyà	àlyáà
7	chìnò	èchì	èchò	chìlyà	chìlyáà
8	zìnò	èzì	èzò	zìlyà	zìlyáà
9	ìnò	èyì	èyò	ìlyà	ìlyáà
10	zìnò	èzì	èzò	zìlyà	zìlyáà
11	lùnò	òlù	òlò	lùlyà	lùlyáà
12	kànò	àkà	àkò	kàlyà	kàlyáà
13	tùnò	òtù	òtò	tùlyà	tùlyáà
14	bùnò	òbù	òbò	bùlyà	bùlyáà
15	kùnò	òyù	òyò	yùlyà	yùlyáà
16	ànò	àwà	àwò	àlyà	àlyáà
17	kùnò	àwà[2]	òkò	kùlyà	kùlyáà
18	mùnò	òmù	òmò	mùlyà	mùlyáà

Table 11: Selected demonstrative forms

[2] This class 17 form seems to have merged with the class 16 form.

When used with the comitative proclitic, basic demonstrative pronouns have the form C*ò*. An exception is the class 1 pronoun, which has the form *nà=yè*.

1	nà=yè	7	nà=chò
2	nà=bò	12	nà=kò
5	nà=lyò	13	nà=tò

Table 12: Demonstratives with the comitative proclitic

Demonstratives frequently appear in complex C*a*V-initial forms with a surface tone on the penult (falling in long syllables), illustrated in Table 13. These forms are extremely common in narrative and may indicate more specific or emphatic reference. The class 14 demonstrative *bóòbò* is frequently used to refer to manner ('like that').

NC	**'this'**	**'that'**	**'that there'**
1	yóòyù	yóòyò	yòyúlyà
2	báàbà	báàbò	bàbályà
7	chéèchì	chéèchò	chèchílyà
13	tóòtù	tóòtò	tòtúlyà

Table 13: C*a*V-initial demonstratives

When used pronominally in narrative discourse, VCV demonstratives appear as objects and as the heads of relative clauses (both subject and object). VCo and *-lya* forms are used as subject pronouns, and are frequently used with proclitic *na=* 'and, with', and falling tone on the final *ô* (e.g. cl. 12 *nàkô*). When used adnominally (as demonstrative adjectives), demonstratives modifying objects take C*a*VC*o* form, while those modifying subjects can apparently take all possible forms. *Yènâ* (cl.1) and *bònâ* (cl. 2), apparently borrowed from Lozi, also occur frequently as substitutives in texts for personal referents. More research is needed to understand the role of demonstratives in narrative.

Like the personal pronouns in Table 10, demonstratives sometimes appear with a H-L surface tone pattern when used as substitutives, but this tone pattern does not seem to be obligatory. The comitative proclitic shows that the consonant-initial forms have distinctions in their tone patterns, as well. Semantic differences between toneless and H-initial forms are not clear to me.

nà=tóòtù	ná=ˈtóòtù
nà=tóòtò	ná=ˈtóòtò

Table 14: Distinctions in demonstrative tone patterns (class 12)

Demonstrative forms can be combined, as well, when the first element combines with *na=*. A typical example from a narrative is given in (39). The forms and tone patterns are similar to copular demonstrative forms given in Table 15 below. Many other combinations are possible, for example class 10 *ná=zè zílyà* 'and these here (nearby)', *nà=zó zèzílyà* 'and those there', and *nà=zé zìlyáà* 'and those way over there'.

(39) íngà **nà=tó** **ˈtóòtó** ò-tù-chèchè kà-tù-yèmb-èl-â$_{H}$=ngá
DM COM=DEM$_{13}$ DEM$_{13}$ AUG-13-child PREHOD-SP$_{13}$-herd-APPL-FV.IPFV=HAB
'Now, those children used to herd [their families' animals]

mù-mú-tɛ̀mwà
18-3-forest
in the forest'

Demonstratives can also function verbally. Copular forms ('it's that/this/these/those') are given in Table 15. Presentatives 'here it is' (showing hearer) / 'there it is' (giving to hearer), shown in Table 16 and (40), are marked with lengthened initial vowels and falling final vowels.

NC	Proximal	Distal	NC	Proximal	Distal
1	ndìyé ˈyóòyù	ndìyé yòyúlyà	8	zé ˈzéèzì	zézè zílyà
2	(m)bá ˈbáàbà	mbàbó bàbályà	9	njé ˈyéèyì	njéyè ílyà
3	ngwó ˈwóòwù	ngówò wúlyà	10	zé ˈzéèzì	zézè zílyà
4	njó ˈyéèyì	njéyì yílyà	11	ndó ˈlóòlù	ndólò lúlyà
5	ndé ˈléèlì	ndélè lílyà	12	ká ˈkáàkà	káká kályà
6	ngà wáàwà	ngàwá ˈályà	13	tó ˈtóòtù	tótò túlyà
7	ché ˈchéèchì	chéchè chílyà	14	bó ˈbóòbù	mbóbò búlyà

Table 15: Some copular demonstrative forms

NC	presentative 'here' (used for pointing)	presentative 'there' (used for giving)
7	èèchî	èèchô
8	èèzî	èèzô
9	èèyî	èèyô

Table 16: Some presentative demonstrative forms

(40) ndí-p-è$_{H}$ mwân-ángù, èzì-lòndá ˈz-ákò **èèzî$_{H}$**!
OP$_{1SG}$-give-FV.SBJV 1.child-POSS$_{1SG}$ 8-wound PP$_{8}$-POSS$_{2SG}$ DEM$_{8}$
'give me my child, here are your wounds!'

Another series of demonstratives, formed with the pronominal prefix and the ending *-àlô* (cl. 1 and 3 *wàlô*, cl. 4 *yàlô*, cl. 5 *lyàlô*, cl. 6 *àlô*, etc.), is nearly identical to Tonga pronouns (Carter 2002:42) and is translated by speakers as pronominal, but is also used adnominally for entities with some proximity in space and time (e.g. ***lwàló*** *òlwímbò mwìná òkúyìmbà* 'that song you're singing' vs. *lùlyáà* (*òlwímbò*) in reference to a song that used to be sung long ago). These forms occur rarely in elicitation and in my text corpus, and their overall status in the system is unclear to me.

3.4.2. Adjectives

As is typical for Niger-Congo languages, Totela has a closed, relatively small class of adjectives. Attested adjectives, given with class 7 prefix *echi-* to show the tone patterns, include *èchínènè* 'big', *èchìníìníì* 'small', *èchìpyâ* 'new', *èchìchèmbèlè* 'old', *èchíkùlù* 'old, grown', *èchìchèchè* 'young' *èchìlê* 'long; tall', *èchífûwì / èchíˈfwífwì* 'short', *èchílòtù* 'good', *èchíbìsì* 'unripe', *èchíbì* 'bad', *èchíkàlì* 'bad, angry, sharp', *èchíkùkùtù* 'hard, difficult', *èchíkàbáhù* 'troublesome, difficult, stubborn', *èchíkàlì* 'sharp, angry', *èchìtòlò* 'blunt, lazy' *èchìtòlè* 'soft, light, easy', and *èchìtétè* 'soft, smooth, fresh, tender, easy(?)'. This list is not necessarily exhaustive. Quantifiers *-ngi* (in cl. 6, *àmângî*) 'many' and *-chɛ* (*àmáchè*) 'few' also take adjective morphology. Colour terms are generally verbal, e.g. *òkúsùbilà* 'become red, ripen', and *òkùsìyà* 'become dark/dirty'.

Adjectives can agree with any noun class, and adjective prefixes are identical to those of the nouns they agree with. Exceptions are class 10 nouns, where the noun prefix is *iN-* and the adjective prefix is (*e*)*zi-*, and class 16 locatives, where the noun prefix is *a-* and the adjective prefix *pa-*.

Comparison is expressed using locative *ku-* and with verbs such as *-i̱ta* 'pass', *-i̱tilila* '(sur)pass', *-siya* 'leave (behind)' and *-swa̱na* 'resemble'.

(41) óyù mù-lé kwènù
1.PRON NP_1.COP-tall 17.PP.2PL.POSS
'He is taller than you.'

(42) óyù mù-lé ʻkú-mì-ìtìlìl-à
1.PRON NP_1.COP-tall 17-OP_{2PL}-surpass-FV
'He is taller than you.'

(43) ínwè tà-mú-lì$_H$ bà-lê, kù-mú-ìtìlìl-à
2PL.PRON NEG-SP_{2PL}-be NP_{2a}-tall 18-OP_1-pass-FV
'You are less tall than he.'

(44) ínwè mù-lì bà-lê, mù-lá-swàn-à nà-yôyù
2PL.PRON SP_{2PL}-be NP_2-tall SP_{2PL} -PRES.DJ-resemble-FV COM-1.PRON
'You are as tall as he.'

(45) ndì-là-sàk-á à-mà-nàwá ò-kú-sìy-á / ò-kú-ìt-á à-mà-kwìlì
SP_{1SG}-DJ-like-FV AUG-6-beans AUG-15-leave-FV / AUG-15-pass-FV AUG-6-potato
'I like beans better than potatoes.'

3.4.3. Connective constructions

Connective, or associative, constructions are formed with noun class agreement and the connective marker *-a-*. When *chi-* (cl. 7) and *zi-* (cl 8/10) prefixes combine with the connective (e.g. cl. 7 *chi-esu -> chèsù* 'our'), the prefix vowel is nearly lost, although some trace of a glide may remain (i.e. [tʃʸèsù]); with other noun classes, /i/ surfaces as a glide (e.g. cl. 5 *lyèsù*; cl. 9 *yèsù*). Final /a/ elides and final /u/ becomes a glide (e.g. class 11 *lwèsù*).

(46) ìbwè lyéèchìyùnì
ì-bwè li-á-è-chì-yùnì
5-stone PP_5-CON-AUG-7-bird
'the stone of the bird'

As is common in Bantu (Van de Velde 2006), classes 1a and 2a behave somewhat idiosyncratically. Because they have no augment or prefix, class 1a nouns do not have long vowels in the first syllable of connective constructions. Class 2a nouns do not take the connective in such constructions. Example (47) shows connective constructions with the singular and plural forms of the class 1a noun *sókwè* 'monkey'.

(47) a. ìmpèmò yàsókwè
ìm-pèmò ì-à-sókwè
9-nose PP_9-CON-monkey

‘the monkey’s nose’

b. ìmpèmò zìbàsókwè̱
ìm-pèmò zì-bà-sókwè̱
10-nose PP10-2A-monkey
‘the monkey’s noses’

As with other modifiers (see 3.5 below), connective constructions involving locative prefixes take the agreement prefix of the base noun, and not the locative (48)–(49).

(48) è̱jùlù lyè̱nyándà̱
à-ì-jùlù li-á-ì̱n-yándà
16-5-sky PP5-CON-9-house
‘on top of the house’

(49) kù-bú-bà̱lì bwè̱-táfù̱lè
17-14-side PP14.CON.5-table
‘on the edge of the table’

Personal possessive pronoun stems are given in Table 17; possessive stems for noun classes are given above in Table 9. Possessive pronouns are composed of the connective *-a-* marker and a possessive stem. Possessive pronouns agree in noun class with both the possessor (stem) and the possessed (prefix). All possessive pronouns are realized with some degree of length on the first vowel; however, the long final vowels represented as double vowels are pronounced significantly longer.

Person	Singular	Plural
1	-á̱ngù	-è̱sù
2	-á̱kò	-è̱nù

Table 17: Personal possessive pronouns

Possessive constructions seem to present a special syntactic case with regard to across-word tonal anticipation. Whereas in most cases, an input H on the first syllable of a word (indicated by underlining) surfaces on the final syllable of the preceding word within its domain, unless the final syllable of the preceding word also has an input H (see 2.3),[3] downstep-conditioning tone shift is generally avoided from possessive pronouns if either the final or the penultimate syllable of the preceding word has an input H tone (50b–d). Instead, the second H tone is deleted.

(50) a. ò̱mùlòlá ˈwá̱ngù̱ ‘my soap’ ò̱mùlòlá wè̱sù ‘our soap’
b. è̱chìntólò̱ chá̱ngù̱ ‘my store’ è̱chìntólò̱ chè̱sù ‘our store’
c. è̱chísè̱mò chá̱ngù̱ ‘my love’ è̱chísè̱mó chè̱sù ‘our love’
d. ò̱bú̱ù̱chì ßwá̱ngù̱ ‘my honey’ ò̱bú̱ù̱chí bwè̱sù ‘our honey’

3.5. Agreement and word order in the noun phrase

[3] E.g. *ndàwìsá ˈnánkà̱lá ˈá̱nsì̱* ‘I dropped the crab on the ground’, in this environment; cf. *è̱chìyùnì(/í) kwijùlù, nánkà̱là á̱nsì̱* ‘the bird in the sky, the crab on the ground’, where H tones do not spread leftwards if the penultimate syllable is underlyingly associated with a H tone. In some – but not all – cases, both shifting with downstep and H-tone deletion are allowed, e.g. *sésì̱bó ˈwá̱ngù̱ / sésì̱bò wá̱ngù̱* ‘my orange-throated long-claw’; but *múkà̱zì wá̱ngù̱ / *múká̱zí ˈwá̱ngù̱* ‘my wife’.

Agreement morphology is given in Table 9 above. Most adjectives take nominal morphology, while some with demonstrative reference ('some', '(an)other, the other') take demonstrative prefixes, as in (51). Speakers are often reluctant to use class 15 agreement markers and the class 15 possessive stem *-ákóò* – though they give these forms in elicitation after careful consideration – and instead substitute class 1 agreement marking, especially with the few lexical nouns in class 15. Class 15 agreement is somewhat easier with verbal (infinitive) nouns, but speakers still disprefer some agreement patterns (e.g. cl. 15 object markers), likely for semantic reasons. Locative classes 16–18 display reduced agreement patterns, and their agreement sometimes defaults to class 17. As noted in 3.4.3 above, adjectival and other targets agree with the base noun and not with the locative marker (51).

(51) kwà-ndáhù yù-mwíì
15.CON-1a.lion DEMP$_1$-other
'to another lion'

The most common word order within the noun phrase is demonstrative/quantifier–noun–possessive–adjective, as in (52). In every case, the possessive pronoun must precede all adjectives.

(52) ndì-sàk-à chí-lyà èchì-yùní ch-ènú èchí-lòtù
1SG-want-FV DEMP$_7$-DEM 7-bird PP$_7$-2PL.POSS NP$_7$-good
'I want that good bird of yours.

Adjectives have at least somewhat flexible order.

(53) a. à-bà-lóbànáà à-bà-lêà à-bá-bì
AUG-2-boy AUG-NP$_2$-tall AUG-NP$_2$-bad
'the big bad boys'
b. à-bà-lóbànáà à-bá-bìà à-bà-lê
AUG-2-boy AUG-NP$_2$-bad AUG-NP$_2$-tall
'the bad big boys'

With double connective constructions, either order is possible, as seen in (54).

(54) a. ín-sìmà y-ángù y-á-à-mà-bélè
9-porridge PP$_9$-1SG.POSS PP$_9$-CON-AUG-6-millet
'my porridge of millet'
b. ín-sìmà y-á-à-mà-bélè y-ángù
9-porridge PP$_9$-AUG-CON-6-millet PP$_9$-1SG.POSS
'my millet porridge'

Personal pronouns take class 1 (singular) or class 2 (plural) adjectival agreement; numeral agreement patterns (used both adnominally and predicatively) are given in Table 18.

Person	Singular	Plural
1	nde-	twe-
2	we-	mwe-

Table 18: Numeral agreement patterns with 1st and 2nd persons

4. Verbs and clause structure

4.1. Verbs

4.1.1. Tone and syllable structure

Verb stems are underlyingly H or toneless (with H tones surfacing, under the appropriate conditions, on the prefix immediately preceding the root). The first syllable of a verb stem can be short or long, but only bisyllabic stems show tonal distinctions between short and long stems in melodic tone patterns. In longer stems the tonal distinction is neutralized, and the length distinction is also somewhat less salient. Most stems longer than two syllables involve verbal extensions or reduplications. Bisyllabic stems can have the root structures -V(N)C- or -C(G)V(V)(N)C-, where C can be any consonant, including nasals or glides (although glide-glide and nasal-nasal sequences are not licit). I have only a few attested examples of NC-initial verbs, and all involve reduplication and are reminiscent of ideophones in meaning and form: *òkùnyùngùnsà* 'to shake (tr.)'; *òkùmbèmbwètà* 'to quiver momentarily'; *òkùngùngùmànà* 'to sit alone'; and I therefore do not represent such forms as a generally possible root structure.

Vowel-initial stems are much rarer than consonant-initial stems. No *e*-initial stems are attested. A majority of stems beginning in *i*- are at least trisyllabic and cause the infinitive prefix *oku*- to glide to *okw*-. Most of these are H toned. The H surfaces on the *i* rather than on the infinitive prefix (*òkúìtà* 'to pass' vs. *òkwíjàlà* 'to close'), and the *i* does not reduplicate (see 4.1.3). These verbs have cognates without initial *i*- in languages like Tonga (M64).

4.1.2. Verbal extensions

Totela makes broad use of verbal extensions. Extensions with some degree of productivity include **applicative** *-il-/-el-/-in-/-en-/-iz-/-ez-* (e.g. *òkúyàs**ìl**à* 'to spear for', *òkúyèch**èl**à* 'to roast for', *òkútùm**ìn**à* 'to send to', *òkùwùlìs**ìz**à* 'to sell for', *òkùsòtòk**èl**á mùchífùndà* 'to jump into a circle', *òkùsòtàwùk**èl**á mùchífundà* 'to jump up and down inside a circle'); **causative** *-is-* and *-i-* (the latter triggering consonant mutations; see below for examples); **reciprocal** *-an-* (*tùlàsàk**àn**à/tùlálìsàk**àn**à* 'we like each other', with and without reflexive *-li-*); **intensive/completive** *-ilil-/-elel-/-inin-/-enen-/-isis-/-eses-* (*òkùsàmb**ìlìl**à* 'to bathe and become completely clean', *òkwi**lìlìl**à* 'to go away forever', *òkùnyàmùk**ìlìl**à* 'to set off all together', *òkúsùw**isis**à* 'understand completely'); **passive** *-(i)u-* (*òkúkàmb**iw**à* 'to be licked', *òkùwàmbil**w**à* 'to be told'; *i* insertion is at least partially a matter of speaker preference; *-u-* is generally preferred following *l* and other extensions); **iterative** *-a(w)ul-/-a(w)uk-* (*òkùtyòòl**àwùl**à* 'to break into many pieces'; *òkùkàb**àwùl**à* 'to beat repeatedly': *òkùwàmb**àùl**à* 'to chat, discuss, converse'; *òkúbùz**àùl**à* 'to ask many questions'); **habitual** *-ang-/=nga* (*tùláyàs**àng**à* 'we spear (regularly)'; and – marginally productive, if at all, and often non-compositional in meaning – **neuter** *-ik-/-ek-* (*òkùkònz**èk**à* 'to be possible', *òkútùmìn**ìk**ìzà* 'to send someone for something' (applicative + neuter + causative) and **reversive** *-ul*(*ul*)*-/-un*(*un*)- (tr.) and *-*(*ul*)*uk-* (intr.) (*òkwíjàl**ùl**à* 'to open', *òkùsànd**ùk**à* 'to change (intr.)', *òkùzìng**ùlùk**à* 'to turn around, encircle', *òkúsùm**ùnùn**à* 'to untie').

Frozen, non-productive extensions include **extensive** *-al-* (*òkwík**àl**à* 'to sit down, stay'); **tentive** *-at-* (*òkùlàm**àt**ìlà* 'to stick to (appl.)'); and **positional** *-am-* (*òkùkàn**àm**à* 'to sit alone, doing nothing', *òkùbbwàt**àm**ànà* 'to sit (said of a very fat person)'). Extensions with /i/ (excluding causative forms) are subject to mid-height harmony (*i* > *e* after *e* and *o*) and extensions with /l/ are subject to nasal harmony (*l* > *n* after nasals) and "harmonic mutation" (*l* > *z* after causative forms).

As noted above, the causative has two forms, *-is-* and *-i-*, the latter triggering somewhat complex consonant mutations. The forms can have slightly differing semantics: when they contrast, *-i-* functions more as a prototypical causative, while *-is-* also functions as an intensifier, as in (55b).

(55) a. ò̲kù-làwù**s**-à
INF-run.*i*.CAUS-FV
'to make run'
b. ò̲kù-làwùk-**ìs**-à
INF-run-*is*.CAUS-FV
'to run hard / to run a lot'

The causative forms can combine, as in (56). Note that the causative forms seem to be added iteratively, since consonant mutation applies even though the *i*-causative appears after the *is*-causative.

(56) ò̲kù-yèn**z-ìs-y-**à (-*yenda* 'walk')
INF-walk.*i*.CAUS-*is*.CAUS-*i*.CAUS-FV
'to make walk a lot'

Causative meanings, in addition to the canonical causative and intensifying functions, also include instrumental (57) and assistive (58).

(57) ín-kò̲lì y-ó-ò̲-kù-yènz-y-à
9-stick PP9-CON-AUG-INF-walk-*i*.CAUS-FV
'walking stick'

(58) ò̲-kù-yènz-y-á à̲-kà-chèchè
AUG-INF-walk-*i*.CAUS-FV AUG-12-child
'to help the little child walk'

Attested consonant mutations with the *-i-* causative are summarized in Table 19.

> z(y)	**> s(y)**	**> y**
(n)d:	t	b
(n)g	k	
(m)b		
l	l	
y		

Table 19: Consonant mutations with causative *-i-*

The passive extension always appears immediately before the final vowel, hence *-sɛ̲s-a* 'marry' > *-sɛ̲s-w-a* 'get married' (said of a woman), and the passivisation of stative final *-ite*/*-ete* as in (59).

(59) ndì-lí-sɛ̲̀s-èt-w-è
SP1SG-STAT.DJ-marry-STAT-PASS-STAT
'I am married' (said by a woman)

The habitual extension shows evidence of being both a suffix (*-nga-*) and a postclitic (*=nga*). In TAM forms with a melodic penultimate H, such as the prehodiernal imperfective in (60), the melodic H can surface either on *-ang-* (as HL because of automatic lengthening before prenasalized stops) or on the penultimate stem syllable preceding *=nga*.

(60) a. kà-tù-tòbèl-âng-àH

PREHOD.IPFV-SP$_{1PL}$-seek-HAB-FV
'We used to seek.'

b. kà-tù-tòbél-à$_H$=ngà
PREHOD.IPFV- P$_{1PL}$-seek-FV=HAB
'We used to seek.'

-nga also functions as an auxiliary verb (61).

(61) a. bá-ngà$_H$ nà-bà-y-á mù-kù-nèng-à
SP$_2$-HAB SIT-SP$_2$-go-FV 18-INF-dance-FV
'They (habitually) go dancing.'

b. tà-ndí-ngà$_H$ nà-ndì-làwúk-à$_H$
NEG-SP$_{1SG}$-HABSIT-SP$_{1SG}$-run-FV
'I don't (regularly/ever) run.'

c. tà-ndí-ngà$_H$ nà-ndì-làwùk-âng-à$_H$
NEG-SP$_{1SG}$-HABSIT-SP$_{1SG}$-run-HAB-FV
'I don't (regularly/ever) run.'

4.1.3. Reduplication

Reduplication is common, with meanings including (at least) 'do X a little', 'do X little by little', 'do X poorly', 'do X repeatedly/a lot', and 'do X here and there'. Full-stem reduplication (without object prefixes) is the most common form. Tones are not reduplicated; instead, the reduplicated form behaves like a long verb stem. Lack of tonal reduplication can be seen in (62), where only one H tone is anticipated. (63) shows a longer reduplicated form with a penultimate H melodic tone.

(62) tù-lá-pòn-à-pòn-à
SP$_{1PL}$-PRES-live-FV-live-FV
'we're just getting by'

(63) twà-y-á bù-tòngàùk-à-tòngàúk-à$_H$
SP$_{2PL}$.CMPL-go-FV 14-talk-FV-talk-FV
'we went along chatting'

In general, stems with one verbal extension reduplicate in full. Stems with more than one extension optionally omit one or more extensions on the first member of the reduplicated pair. Speakers differed as to whether they accepted the form in (64c).

(64) a. bà-lá-yàk-**ìl-àn**-à-yàk-ìl-àn-à
b. bà-lá-yàk-**ìl**-à-yàk-ìl-àn-à
c. ?bà-lá-yàk-à-yàk-ìl-àn-à
SP$_2$-DJ-build-?(APPL)-(RECIP)-FV-build-APPL-RECIP-FV
'They build for each other here and there.'

i-initial stems in which H tones surface on the initial vowel (rather than on the preceding toneless morpheme) generally do not reduplicate the initial *i*.

(65) *ndìlénglà-nglà*
ndì-là-íng-il-à-ng-il-à
SP$_{1SG}$-DJ-enter-APPL-FV-enter-APPL-FV

'I enter here and there'

Lexicalized partial reduplication is evident on many verb roots, such as *-ngùngùmànà* 'to sit alone', *-chènchèntà* 'sift by tossing', *-chòchòmà* 'crackle in pan', *-yo̲yòmòkà* 'hallucinate', *-mwè̲mwètèlà* 'smile', and *-kà̲kàtìlà* 'stick to (as thorns); persevere'.

4.2. Tense, aspect, mood and negation

Totela has a rich system for expressing tense, aspect and mood distinctions, described in detail in Crane (2011). The following sections describe the most commonly used forms. Totela's conjoint/disjoint contrast is described in 4.3.2. The discussion presupposes the onset-nucleus-coda phasal structure of verbal events set out in e.g. Botne & Kershner (Botne & Kershner 2000). In change-of-state verbs (see e.g. (52)), the "**nucleus**" encodes the state change itself, while the "**coda**" phase encodes the ensuing state. The "**onset**" phase of such verbs, when lexically encoded, consists of the processes leading up to the state change. In non-state-change verbs, including a few statives, the nuclear phase encodes the action or state referenced by the verb. **Perspective time** is the time for which the utterance's truth value is evaluated, usually utterance time.

4.2.1. Tense and aspect

Totela verbal morphology distinguishes situations occurring on or overlapping the day of utterance/perspective time (hodiernal) and situations preceding or following the day of utterance/perspective time (pre- and posthodiernal, respectively). The day begins at the time of going to sleep (regardless of the time of sunset). Only prehodiernal pasts and posthodiernal futures have specific tense morphology; all other morphology may be considered primarily aspectual, with the possible exception of the past marker *-na-* (see 4.2.2.3 below). However, most forms have both temporal and aspectual functions, and a strict division into tense vs. aspect would be artificial.

4.2.2. Aspectual distinctions with tense-like functions within the hodiernal domain

4.2.2.1. Completive aspect

Most hodiernal pasts are marked with *-a-*, which I argue is a marker of nuclear Completion (Crane 2012a); that is, the primary lexical content of the verb is prior to the moment of speech (or other salient perspective time). As such, forms with *-a-* can have (i) perfect (anterior) interpretations, if the perspective time is construed as within the coda phase (present state reading of change-of-state verbs) or other relevant post-state (perfect reading of non-state-change verbs); or (ii) perfective (past) interpretations otherwise. Unlike a dedicated perfect form, *-a-* does not always entail relevance at the time of utterance. Thus, forms with Completive *-a-* reference a past situation with activity verbs (66) and stative verbs (67). With change-of-state verbs, such as *-komokwa* 'be(come) surprised', the most common reading is that of a present state (68). However, the Completive form of these verbs can also refer to a state change in the hodiernal past, whether the results hold at the time of utterance or not (69).

(66) nd-à-nèng-à
SP$_{1SG}$-CMPL-dance-FV
'I (have) danced.' (earlier today)

(67) nd-à-chìs-w-à
SP$_{1SG}$-CMPL-hurt-PASS-FV

'I was sick' (earlier today)

(68) nd-á-kò̲mòk-w-à
SP1SG-CMPL-surprise-PASS-FV
'I'm surprised!'

(69) nd-á-kò̲mòk-w-á sù̲nù
SP1SG-CMPL-surprise-PASS-FV today
'I had a surprise today!'

In general, forms such as those in (66)–(70) refer to events that occurred on the day of perspective time (hodiernal pasts). Completive morphology can also be used with events that occurred prior to the day of utterance, if the events have continuing and relevant results at utterance time (perfect reading), or if the completion of the event occurred within the day of perspective time.

4.2.2.2. Non-Completive aspect

Present (progressive/stative/habitual) and hodiernal future forms are unmarked, although they typically appear with the disjoint marker *-la-*.[4] Crane (2011; 2012a) argues that these forms can situate the perspective time at any point prior to the completion of a situation's nuclear phase. When used as futurates, *-la-* forms typically refer to situations expected to occur on the day of perspective time, but are not restricted to the hodiernal domain.

(70) ndì-là-nèng-à
SP1SG-DJ-dance-FV
'I dance / am dancing / will dance'

While Non-Completive forms can have both progressive and habitual readings, these meanings can also be expressed morphologically. For events ongoing at perspective time, progressive forms (see 4.2.4.1) are often preferred. Habitual readings can be overtly specified with the habitual extension, as in (71).

(71) tù-là-byàl-àng-á ì-hû̲mbì
SP1P-DJ-sow-HAB-FV AUG.5-hot.season
'we sow in the hot season'

4.2.2.3. Hodiernal imperfective aspect

Hodiernal past imperfectives are marked with *-na-*,[5] which is also the primary Past marker in negated pasts (hence glossed as Past). By default, *-na-* targets the coda state of many change-of-state verbs (72), the nucleus of non-change-of-state verbs (73), including some statives (74), and the onset of some change-of-state verbs with extended onset phases (75). Unlike Prehodiernal Imperfective *ka-* (see 4.2.3.2), *-na-* is incompatible with the stativizing *-ite* suffix (see 4.2.4.2) and with stative roots such as *-ina* 'have/be with'. When *-na-* is used together with the Completive, it

[4] The *-la-* morpheme is often pronounced with a long vowel, especially in penultimate position, but the length is variable and not potentially contrastive in this position, and is therefore not represented in the orthography.
[5] The *-na-* morpheme also exhibits some (variable) degree of vowel length, not represented in the orthography.

gives pluperfect readings (76); these forms can express with "experiential perfect" meaning. The final vowel of *-na-* forms is *-i* with monosyllabic and other stems that take final *-i* in negative forms (see 4.2.8~~7~~).

(72) sùnú èchí-fùmò **ndì-nà-táb-à**$_{H}$
today 7-morning **SP1SG-PST-become.happy-FV**
'this morning, **I was happy**'

(73) àwá **ndì-nà-láwùk**$_{H}$**-à** ndà-wàán-á òmù-ntù nà-lyâ$_{H}$
DEM16 **SP1SG-PST-run-FV** SP1SG.CMPL-find-FV 1-person SIT-eat.FV
'while **I was running**, I came across a person eating'

(74) ndì-nà-chís-w-à
SP1SG-PST-hurt-PASS-FV
'I was sick' (earlier today)

(75) chì-nà-bômb-à$_{H}$
SP7-PST-soak-FV
'it was soaking'

(76) Sùnú èchí-fùmò àwá **mù-ná-chì-lààl-à**$_{H}$, ímè
today 7-morning DEM16 **SP2PL-PST-PER-sleep-FV** 1SG.PRON
'This morning while **you were still sleeping**, I

ndà-yá kù=mpìlì. Àwá mwà-búùk-à$_{H}$,
SP1SG.CMPL-go.FV 17=9.fields DEM16 SP2PL.CMPL-wake.up-FV
went to the fields. When you woke up,

ndâ$_{H?}$**-nà-bóól-à**$_{H}$ kàléè.
SP1SG.CMPL-PST-return-FV already
I had returned already.'

4.2.3. Pasts and futures

4.2.3.1. Prehodiernal Completives

Prehodiernal Completives combine Completive *-a-* with Prehodiernal *-ka-* marking, and have prehodiernal perfective semantics.

(77) nd-à-kà-nèng-à
SP1SG-CMPL-PREHOD-dance-FV
'I danced' (yesterday or before)

4.2.3.2. Prehodiernal Imperfectives

Like Prehodiernal Completives, Prehodiernal Imperfectives have a *ka-* prefix. With Prehodiernal Imperfectives, the prefix occurs before the subject prefix, and forms surface with melodic H on the penultimate syllable. They are compatible with habitual extensions.

(78) kà-tù-hùpúl-à$_{H}$

PREHOD-SP$_{1SG}$-think-FV.IPFV
'We were thinking.' / 'We used to think.'

4.2.3.3. Posthodiernal Futures

Posthodiernal Futures are marked with the prefix *na-*, as in (79). The use of Posthodiernal morphology is frequently optional, and can depend on speaker certainty or intentionality regarding the future situation described: situations certain to occur often lack posthodiernal morphology. Posthodiernal Futures are underspecified for aspect; an aspectually imperfective future form is given in (106).

(79) ná-ndì-là-nèng-à
POSTHOD-SP$_{1SG}$-DJ-dance-FV
'I will dance.' (after today)

4.2.4. Other aspectual forms

4.2.4.1. Progressive (/imperfective)

There are several means of expressing explicitly progressive aspect, the most common of which are given in (80)–(82). The construction shown in (80), using the stative form of *-kwa̲ta* 'grasp, catch, hold', is incompatible with stative verbs (e.g. *-saka* 'want, like, love'). In contrast, a progressive formed with the defective stative verb *-ina* 'be, have' (81) can also have present stative meaning, as in (82). It is also in some cases compatible with habitual meanings and the habitual *-nga-* extension, and may thus be considered more of a general imperfective with progressive functions.

(80) ndì-lí-kwè̲sì ndì-là-yènd-à
SP$_{1SG}$-STAT.DJ-hold.STAT SP$_{1SG}$-DJ-walk-FV
'I am walking.'

(81) mwìná ò̲-kù-yènd-à-yènd-á kù̲-ŋándà̲
SP$_{2SG}$.be/have AUG-15(INF)-walk-FV-walk-FV 17-9.house
'You're pacing in front of the house.'

(82) ndìná ò̲-kù-sàk-à
SP$_{1SG}$.be/have AUG-15(INF)-want-FV
'I want'

Past progressives usually take the relevant Imperfective morphology (4.2.3.2); Prehodiernal Imperfectives can also combine with the *-kwesi* progressive; see (90) below. Future progressives (both hodiernal and posthodiernal) take subjunctive-like morphology (see 4.2.7̲6 below).

4.2.4.2. Stative

The suffix *-ite* (*-ete*/*-ile*/*-ele*/*-ine*/*-ene*/imbricated forms) functions as a stativizer (Crane 2013), with resultative semantics that are not necessarily confined to the result phase of a verb's event structure. As such, it is occasionally used to express progressive-like meanings. With change of state verbs, which have a defined result phase, *-ite* generally describes the ongoing result state, as in (83)–(84).

(83) ndì-lì-tàb-ìtè

SP1SG-STAT.DJ-become.happy-STAT
'I am happy.'

(84) kà-ndì-táb-ìHtè
PREHOD-SP1SG-become.happy-STAT
'I was happy.'

However, Stative *-ite* can also target the nuclear phase of some predicates, as in (85)–(87), or a derived coda phase in predicates not inherently associated with one.

(85) ndì-lì-yènd-ìtè
SP1SG-STAT.DJ-walk-STAT
'I am walking.'

(86) ndì-lí-bwènè
SP1SG-STAT.DJ-see.STAT
'I see'

(87) tù-lí-yààk-ìté ꜜá-fūwì nòmù-lóngà
SP1PL-STAT.DJ-build-STATE 16-short COM.3-river
'We [our house] are built close to the river.'

Some progressive-like uses of *-ite* are marginal, but evidence suggests that these uses are becoming more widespread across lexical event types, and in Namibian Totela and other Zambezi region languages, use of *-ite* and related morphemes with progressive-like aspectual reference and other non-canonical resultative meanings is even more prevalent (see Crane 2012b for a survey).

4.2.4.3. Persistive

Persistive aspect is marked with the post-SP prefix *-chi-*, which can co-occur with other tense/aspect markers but not with Completive forms, or with disjoint *-la-*. Its approximate meaning is 'still' in the affirmative, and 'not anymore' when negated. In the affirmative, it conditions a melodic H that surfaces on the penult. Like the Non-Completive, it can be used with both present and futurate meaning when otherwise unmarked for tense.

(88) tù-chì-kà-mù-zíìk-àH
SP1PL-PER-DIST-OP1-bury-FV
'We're still going to bury him [there].'

4.2.4.4. Situative

Situative *na-*, used in subordinate clauses, indicates that a situation includes or is coextensive with the main-clause situation.

(89) bà-kà-ndì-wààn-à nà-ndì-lyâH
SP2-.CMPL.PREHOD-OP1SG-find-FV SIT-SP1SG-eat.FV
'They found me eating'

Past progressives with *-kwesi* also use situative marking on the second verb.

(90) kà-ndì-kwèsì$_{H}$ nà-ndì-sâmb-à$_{H}$
PREHOD-SP$_{1SG}$-hold.STAT SIT-SP$_{1SG}$-bathe.FV
'I was bathing'

~~4.2.4.5.~~4.2.5. Distal

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Another *-ka-* prefix functions as a Distal marker. Distal *-ka-* and Prehodiernal *-ka-* can co-occur on the same verb. The two forms trigger different melodic tone patterns in relative clauses.

(91) nd-à-kà-sàmb-à
SP$_{1SG}$-CMPL-DIST-bathe-FV
'I bathed' (elsewhere)

(92) nd-à-kà-kà-sàmb-à
SP$_{1SG}$-CMPL-PREHOD-DIST-bathe-FV
'I bathed' (elsewhere, yesterday or before)

(93) a. nd-à-kà-wáàn-à$_{H}$
SP$_{1SG}$-CMPL-PREHOD-find-FV.RC
'…[that] I found' (yesterday or before)
b. nd-â$_{H?}$-kà-wààn-à
SP$_{1SG}$-CMPL-DIST-find-FV.RC
'…[that] I found' (elsewhere)
c. nd-à-kâ$_{H?}$-kà-wààn-à (or ndà-kâ$_{H?}$-kà-wáàn-à$_{H}$)
SP$_{1SG}$-CMPL-PREHOD-DIST-find-FV.RC
'…[that] I found' (elsewhere, yesterday or before)

~~4.2.5.~~4.2.6. Narrative morphology

Narrative "tense" morphology is frequently used in discourse to mark temporally subsequent situations (either consecutive or subsecutive; i.e. the participant can be the same or different). In Zambian Totela, narrative forms have the same morphology as class 15 infinitives, sometimes co-occurring with the comitative proclictic *na=*. Without the comitative proclitic, the infinitives appear without the augment, but the augments surface when the comitative is used. When narrative morphology co-occurs with distal *-ka-* marking, the infinitive prefix *-ku-* may be elided (95), as well as the comitative proclitic itself (96). Narrative morphology and participant marking are discussed further in 4.3.3.

(94) aa! nò-kwíngìl-à. kwìnd-á ˈín-sìmà kú-lyà
INTERJ COM.AUG-NARR.enter-FV NARR.take-FV 9-pap NARR-eat.FV
'aa! Then he went in. He took the porridge and ate

kú-lyà kú-lyà kù-màn-à
NARR-eat.FV NARR-eat.FV NARR-finish-FV
and ate and ate and finished [it up].'

(95) nàyê nòkàbòòlàkô
nà=yê nà=ò-(kù-)kà-bòòl-à-kô
COM=1.PRON COM=AUG-(NARR-)DIST-return-FV-17
'and he also returned'

(96) nòkàìndá ò̲mwáa̲nà ò̲kàmúkò̲sòlá òmútwì̲
nà=ò̲-(kù-)kà-ìnd-á ò̲-mwáa̲nà (nà=)ò̲-(kù-)-kà-mà-kò̲sòl-á ò̲-mú-twì̲
COM=AUG-(NARR-)DIST-take-FV AUG-1.child (COM=)AUG-(NARR-)DIST-OP1-cut-FV AUG-3-head
–'and he took the child and cut off his head'

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~~4.2.6.~~4.2.7. Mood

Mood distinctions are frequently expressed on the final vowel and with special tone patterns. The subjunctive final vowel is *-e*. Imperatives are formed with the bare stem and a penultimate H (or a falling tone on long vowels in penultimate position). In plural imperatives, the H also falls on the stem penult (hence the analysis as a subjunctive final *-e* followed by plural clitic *=ni*).[6] The penultimate H tone frequently spreads leftwards producing a plateaued H, with a significant drop in tone between the penult and the final vowel. Imperatives with object prefixes are expressed with the subjunctive final *-e* and a H that surfaces on the first root syllable (HL on long vowels in penultimate position) (99).

(97) ŋàtàwúl-à$_{H}$!
tear.up-FV
'Tear [it] up!'

(98) ŋàtàwúl-è$_{H}$=nì!
tear.up-FV.SBJV-2PL
'Tear [it] up!' (pl)

(99) mù-wámb-ìl$_{H}$-è!
1.OP-speak-APPL-FV.SBJV
'Tell him!'

In addition to imperatives with object marking, subjunctive forms are used in hortatives (100)–(101) (which also function as polite imperatives (102)), in the protasis of conditionals (103), in constructions expressing that something 'almost' occurred (104) (the auxiliary verb being *-ti* 'say' or *-saka* 'want'), and in some negative constructions (see 4.2.84).

(100) tù-wâmb-è$_{H}$!
SP$_{1PL}$-talk-FV
'Let's talk!'

(101) bà-nı̰chè$_{H}$ bà-nı̰chè$_{H}$ tòntól-è$_{H}$=nì bón-è$_{H}$=nì
2-child.VOC[7] 2-child.VOC be.quiet-FV.SBJV=2PL see-FV.SBJV=2PL

[6] As a reviewer notes, this form could also be analysed as having the imperative final *-a*, with a plural postclitic *=ini*. At present, I do not know how to distinguish between these analyses, since the imperative and the subjunctive have the same tone patterns; in any case, the final syllable of plural imperatives behaves extra-metrically.

[7] The vocative is marked by absence of a vocalic augment and, in many cases, a pattern in which H tone only surfaces on the penult, e.g. *bàn̰ichè$_{H}$!* 'children!' (voc.) vs. *à̲bán̰ichè* 'children'; *mwànàkázì$_{H}$!* 'woman!' (voc.) vs. *ò̲mwán̰àkázì̲* 'woman'. In some cases, when the noun stem is monosyllabic (or historically monosyllabic), this penultimate H only appears on the possessive pronoun, which is often cliticised when referring to family relations, e.g. (*àkàkà*) *mùkwè wá̲ngù$_{H}$!* 'my in-law!' (voc.) vs. *múkwè̲ wángù̲* 'my in-law

‘Children, children, be quiet and see

bà=sókwè bà-sìk-à **twìjáy-è**$_{H}$!
2a=monkey SP$_{2a}$.CMPL-arrive-FV **SP$_{1PL}$.kill-FV.SBJV**
Monkey has arrived; **let’s kill** [him]!’

(102) mù-ŋàtàwúl-è$_{H}$(=ni)!
SP$_{2PL}$-tear.up-FV.SBJV(=2PL)
‘Tear [it] up!’

(103) ésì **tù-lyé**$_{H}$ àhúlù, tù-lékùt-à
COND **SP$_{2PL}$-eat.FV.SBJV** a.lot SP$_{1PL}$-DJ.become.full-FV
‘If **we eat** a lot, we(’ll) get full.’

(104) nd-à-tí **ndì-zùbúk-è**$_{H}$ kònó ˈndá-kàng-w-à
SP$_{1SG}$-CMPL-say SP$_{1SG}$-cross-FV.SBJV but SP$_{1SG}$.CMPL-fail-PASS-FV
‘I almost crossed / was intending to cross, but I was unable’

Subject markers can also appear with something resembling subjunctive marking, followed by an infinitive-like form. Such constructions have habitual or generic imperative meaning (105). In some contexts, these forms can also be used as future imperfectives (106). Forms such as (106) are unspecified for temporal domain, and can refer to hodiernal and posthodiernal future events. I tentatively gloss these subject markers as having subjunctive endings: they appear to have a separate melodic tone pattern, and they condition downstep of infinitive Hs as if there were two words coming together (106).

(105) Ínwè yôyù mwânénù **mwé**$_{H}$**=kù-mù-wàmb-ìl-à**.
2PL.PRON 1.DEM 1.child.2PL.POSS **SP$_{2PL}$.SBJV=INF-OP$_{1}$-speak-APPL-FV**
‘**You have to keep telling** that child of yours,

Ímè yêyí ìn-yàmà y-êm-bíìzì tà-ndí-ì-lì$_{H}$.
1SG.PRON 9.DEM 9-meat PP$_{9}$-CON9-horse NEG-SP$_{1SG}$-OP$_{9}$-eat.FV.NEG
I don’t eat horse/zebra meat.’

(106) ìjìlò ésì **ndé**$_{H}$**=ˈkú-lyà**, ná-ˈmwîz-è$_{H}$
tomorrow COND **SP$_{1SG}$.SBJV=INF-eat.FV** POST-SP$_{2PL}$.come-FV.SBJV
‘Come tomorrow **while I’m eating.’**

Hortatives can also take posthodiernal future marking, as seen in (107).

(107) ná-mù-yèmbél-è$_{H}$!
POSTHOD-SP$_{2PL}$-herd-FV.SBJV
‘herd!’ (tomorrow or thereafter)

(cl 1a)’, but *bàmúkwè wáŋgù*$_{H}$*!* ‘my in-law!’ (voc.; polite use of class 2a prefix). Because this phenomenon does not occur uniformly (and, in my data at least, only seems to occur with human referents), it is difficult to say with certainty whether this is a melodic tone or the shifting of input H tones to the penult. I do not have any examples where it occurs on an all L noun, though I have examples where it does not (e.g. *bànyìnà!* ‘my mother!’ (pl., polite use of class 2a prefix) vs. *bànyìnà* ‘my mother’), though the minimal pair *mùkòmbwè* ‘rooster!’ (voc) and *Mùkómbwè* (a person’s name) might be suggestive.

In Namibian Totela, futures also have subjunctive *-e* as the final vowel (see 4.2.6~~5~~).

Counterfactuals are introduced with the particle *kámbè*, which appears in the protasis and sometimes the apodosis. The verb in the apodosis is frequently marked with a counterfactual proclitic *ná=*, which seems to be related to *náà* 'if, whether', used when facts are unknown (e.g. *mbwîtà náà*... 'who knows if/whether'. Crane (2012a) has further examples.

(108) kámbè tw-á-ly-à àhúlù, (kámbè)
COUNTER SP_{1PL}-CMPL-eat-FV a.lot COUNTER
'If we had eaten a lot,

ná='tw-ékùt-à
COUNTER=SP_{1PL}-CMPL.become.full-FV
we would be full.'

4.2.7.4.2.8. Negation

Negation is typically marked as a prefix *ta-* in initial position on the verb. Most negative forms have final *-a*; monosyllables and a few bisyllabic stems (*-saka* 'want' and *-suwa* 'feel, hear, understand') have final *-i*. Posthodiernal future negatives employ a subjunctive form with final *-e*. Basic affirmative and negative forms are compared in Table 20 with the verb *-tobela* 'look for, seek'.

	Affirmative	**Negative**
Prehodiernal imperfective	kà-ndì-tòbél-à$_H$	tà-ká-ndì-tòbél-à$_H$
Past (hodiernal imperfective)	ndì-nà-tóbèl-à$_H$	tà-ndì-nà-tóbè$_H$l-à
Prehodiernal Completive	ndà-kà-tòbèl-à	tà-ndì-nà-kà-tóbè$_H$l-à
Completive	ndà-tòbèl-à	tà-ndì-nà-tóbèl$_H$-à
Non-completive (disjoint)	ndì-là-tòbèl-à	tà-ndì-tóbè$_H$l-à
Posthodiernal	ná-ndì-là-tòbèl-à	tà-lì ná-ndì-tòbél-è$_H$

Table 20: Afirmative and negative TA forms

In infinitives, the negation prefix follows the infinitive prefix (109). Following infinitives (and attested only in that context), *ta-* alternates with *sa-*. The negation prefix also follows TA forms such as situative *na-* and prehodiernal (imperfective) *ka-* in negated auxiliary constructions (110)–(112). Note that the negation prefix can optionally also follow the subject marker in auxiliary verbs, as in (110b).

(109) òkú-tà-tòbèl-à / òkú-sà-tòbèl-à
INF-NEG-seek-FV / INF-NEG-seek-FV
'to not seek'

(110) a. bàndìwàànà nàndìtéénì$_H$ kúlyà
bà-ndì-wààn-à nà-**ndì-tá**-ín-ì$_H$ kú-ly-à
SP_2-OP_{1SG}-find-FV SIT-**SP_{1SG}-NEG**-have-FV.NEG INF-eat-FV
'They found me not (yet) having eaten.'

b. bà-ndì-wààn-à nà-**tà-ndí**-ín-ì$_H$ kú-ly-à
SP_2-OP_{1SG}-find-FV SIT-**NEG**-SP_{1SG}-have-FV.NEG INF-eat-FV
'They found me not (yet) having eaten.'

(111) ndà-ká-l̲àà̲l-à ínywè nà-tà-mwín-ìH kù-sìk-à
SP1SG.CMPL-PREHOD-sleep-FV 2PL.PRON SIT-NEG-SP2PL.have-FV.NEG INF-arrive-FV
'I went to bed [last night] before you arrived'

(112) kà-tá-ˈbéén-ìH kú-tà̲lìk-à
PREHOD-NEG-SP2.have-FV.IPFV.NEG INF-begin-FV
'they haven't started (yet)'

The negative marker can also take an *-e* ending reminiscent of the subjunctive, along with a subjunctive final vowel. This gives a slightly different meaning, as seen in the contrast in (113a–b).

(113) a. tà-ndí-l̲ìH
NEG-SP1SG-eat.FV.NEG
'I don't eat (in general) / I won't eat (later).'
b. téH=ndì-lyêH
NEG.SBJV=-SP1SG-eat.FV.SBJV
'I won't eat / I refuse to eat.'

A distinction between subjunctive and indicative forms can also be seen in posthodiernal futures, which are negated with an auxiliary (114).

(114) a. tà-líH ˈná-ndì-là-yà?
NEG-be POSTHOD-SP1SG-DJ-go.FV
'Won't I go?' (tomorrow or after)
b. tà-líH ˈná-ndì-yêH
NEG-be POSTHOD-SP1SG-go.FV.SBJV
'I won't go.' (tomorrow or after)

~~4.2.8.~~4.2.9. TAMN in Namibian Totela

The expression of tense/aspect/mood/negation (TAMN) is strongly divergent between the two varieties: although the varieties have similar categories and similar TAMN morphemes, the correspondence between categories and morphemes differs dramatically. TAMN forms are extremely variable in general, especially in the Zambezi region.

	NT	**ZT**
Prehodiernal Perfective/Completive	ni/na-SP-a-ROOT-a *ni/na-nd-a-yend-a* 'I walked' (yest. or before)	SP-a-ka-ROOT-a *nd-à-kà-yènd-à* 'I walked' (yest. or before)
Hodiernal perfective/completive/perfect	SP-a-ROOT-a *nd-a-yend-a* 'I walked' (today)	SP-a-ROOT-a *nd-à-yènd-à* 'I walked' (today)
Prehodiernal imperfective	ka-SP-ROOT-a *ka-ndi-yend-a* 'I was walking / used to walk'	ka-SP-ROOT-a *kà-ndì-yênd-à*H 'I was walking / used to walk'
Hodiernal imperfective	SP-la-ROOT-i *ndi-la-yend-i* 'I was walking'	SP-na-ROOT-a *ndì-nà-yênd-à*H 'I was walking'
Present	SP-ROOT-a	SP-la-ROOT-a

	ndi-yend-a 'I walk / am walking' (no morphologically expressed CJ/DJ)	*ndì-là-yènd-à* 'I walk / am walking / will walk' (disjoint form)
Hodiernal future	mo/mu-SP-ROOT-e *mo/mu-ndi-yend-e* 'I will walk' (later today)	
Posthodiernal future	ka-SP-ROOT-e *ka-ndi-yend-e* 'I will walk'	na-SP-la-ROOT-a *ná-ndì-là-yènd-à* 'I will walk' (disjoint form)

Table 21: Some differences in TA morphology in Zambian and Namibian Totela varieties

Additionally, many speakers of NT use infinitive fronting as a primary means to express the progressive, as discussed in 4.3.2. In ZT, this construction seems relatively rare, and, according to my data, expresses predication focus.

As can be seen in Table 21, final vowels in TAMN forms are different between ZT and NT, as well. In addition to subjunctive uses found in both varieties, NT has final vowel *-e* for all futures. The final vowel in negative forms in NT is *-a* in past forms, *-i* in the present, and *-e* for future forms. These forms are shown in Table 22, which also illustrates some of the differing negation strategies between NT and ZT. Recall from 4.2.8~~7~~ that negative forms in ZT have final *-i* with monosyllabic and a few bisyllabic stems.

	NT	**ZT**
Prehodiernal Perfective/Completive	kana-na/ni-SP-a-ROOT-**a** *kana-na/ni-ndi-yend-a*	ta-SP-na-ka-ROOT-**a**(/i) *tà-ndì-nà-kà-yênd-à*$_{H}$
Hodiernal perfective/completive/perfect	kana-SP-a-ROOT-**a** *kana-nda-yend-a*	ta-SP-na-ROOT-**a**(/i) *tà-ndì-nà-yênd-à*$_{H}$
Prehodiernal imperfective	kana-ka-SP-a-ROOT-**a** *kana-ka-nda-yend-a*	ta-ka-SP-ROOT-**a**(/i) *tà-ká-ndì-yênd-à*$_{H}$
Present	ka-SP-ROOT-**i** *ka-ndi-yend-i*	ta-SP-ROOT-**a**(/i) *tà-ndì-yênd-à*$_{H}$
Hodiernal future	kase/kasi-SP-ROOT-**e** *kase/kasi-ndi-yend-e*	ta-SP-ROOT-**a**(/i) *tà-ndì-yênd-à*$_{H}$
Posthodiernal future	kase/kasi-na-SP-ROOT-**e** *kase/kasi-na-ndi-yend-e*	ta-li na-SP-ROOT-**e** *tà-lí*$_{H}$ *ꜜná-ndì-yênd-è*$_{H}$

Table 22: Expression of negation in Zambian and Nambian Totela varieties

4.2.9.4.2.10. TAMN and melodic tone

Totela verbs take three main tone patterns:

1. Underlying tones surface (with high tone anticipation) without any melodic tones (present, future, completive/perfective pasts, and most other main clause affirmative forms)
2. Melodic H on second root syllable, surfacing on the first syllable if not eliminated by *H-H constraints (most forms with object markers, most negative forms). Pattern (2b) has falling tone on monosyllables.
3. Melodic H on final syllable, surfacing on the penultimate syllable, also subject to the *H-H constraint and often occurring with plateauing, especially between input Hs (most

affirmative relative clauses, subjunctive and hortative forms without object markers, prehodiernal imperfective forms, persistive forms).

These patterns are illustrated in Tables 23 (toneless) and 24 (H-toned) roots of various lengths. For full paradigms and further discussion, see Crane (2014). Lexical Hs are only marked on roots.

# Syllables	Pattern 1 Pres/non-past	Pattern 2a Pres neg	Pattern 2b Hortative with toneless OM	Pattern 3 Imperative
1	ndì-là-wà	tà-ndí-wì$_H$	mù-ndì-nyê$_H$	wâ$_H$
2	ndì-là-sàkà	tà-ndì-sákì$_H$	mù-ndì-sákè$_H$	sákà$_H$
2(long vowel)	ndì-là-zìikà	tà-ndì-zíikà$_H$	mù-ndì-zíikè$_H$	zíikà$_H$
3	ndì-là-ùkùtà	tà-ndì-úkù$_H$tà	mù-ndì-úkù$_H$tè	ùkútà$_H$
3(long vowel)	ndì-là-zàànìnà	tà-ndì-záánì$_H$nà	mù-ndì-wá:mbì$_H$lè	zàànínà$_H$
4	ndì-là-ŋàtàwùlà	tà-ndì-ŋátà$_H$wùlà	mù-ndì-ŋátà$_H$wùlè	ŋàtàwúlà$_H$

Table 23: Melodic tone patterns (toneless roots)

# Syllables	Pattern 1 Pres/non-past	Pattern 2a Pres neg	Pattern 2b Hortative with toneless OM	Pattern 3 Imperative
1	ndì-lá-twà	tà-ndí-twì$_H$	mù-ndì-pè$_H$	pâ$_H$
2	ndì-lá-hòhà	tà-ndí-hòhà$_H$	mù-ndí-bònè$_H$	hóhà$_H$
2(long vowel)	ndì-lá-bìikà	tà-ndí-bìikà$_H$	mù-ndí-bìikè$_H$	súùkà$_H$
3	ndì-lá-hùpùlà	tà-ndí-hàlì$_H$kà	mù-ndí-hàlì$_H$kè	hàlíkà$_H$
3(long vowel)	ndì-lá-yè:mbèlè	tà-ndì-yè:mbè$_H$là	mù-ndí-yè:mbè$_H$lè	yè:mbélà$_H$
4	ndì-lá-bàbàlèlà	tà-ndí-bàbàlèlà	mù-ndí-bàbà$_H$lèlè	bàbàlélà$_H$

Table 24: Melodic tone patterns (H-toned roots)

Passive and causative extensions behave as if they added a mora to the final syllable, resulting in a falling tone on the final vowel in imperative forms (115a–b). Some forms that segmentally resemble causatives (115c) and passives (115e) also (sometimes optionally) take a falling tone on the final vowel of an imperative. Question marks represent words speakers would not accept or produce.

(115)

		Imperative	Applicative Imperative	Causative Imperative
a.	*-wamba* 'talk, tell'	wâmbà$_H$	wàmbílà$_H$	wàmbìsâ$_H$
b.	*-yenda* 'walk'	yêndà$_H$	yèndélà$_H$	yènzyâ$_H$
c.	*-fosa* 'err'	fòsâ$_H$	fòsèzâ$_H$	?
d.	*-fusa* 'throw spear at'	fúsà$_H$	fùsílà$_H$	fùsìsâ$_H$
e.	*-suwa* 'hear, feel'	sùwâ$_H$	?	sùwìsâ$_H$
f.	*-lowa* 'bewitch'	lówà$_H$	lòwélà$_H$	lòwìsâ$_H$

4.3. Clause structure and agreement

4.3.1. Word order

Totela exhibits a relatively free word order, allowing all permutations of subject, verb, and object. Adverbials can typically appear at any point in a sentence. The "default" word order, in the absence of additional information structuring constraints, is SVO, although the subject is often dropped.

When a clause-final verb is preceded by its object, the object is treated as a topic and a resumptive object marker is required on the verb (as in (105) above). (116) shows the flexibility in subject and object positions.

(116) à-tòbèl-à Jacky Lenya
SP1-seek-FV Jacky Lenya
default interpretation:'Jacky is looking for Lenya' (VSO)
possible interpretation: 'Lenya is looking for Jacky' (VOS)

With double objects, the direct and indirect object can occur in either order, though the indirect object precedes the direct object in the default interpretation, and is the only possible order in cases where there could be ambiguity (117c).

(117) a. nd-á-p-à bà=máámà ín-tàlàbàndà
SP1SG-CMPL-give-FV 2a=my.mother 9-cooked.greens
'I gave my mother cooked greens' (IO-DO)
b. nd-á-p-à ín-tàlàbàndà bà=máámà
SP1SG-CMPL-give-FV 9-cooked.greens 2a=my.mother
'I gave my mother cooked greens' (DO-IO)
c. mù-p-é ò-mwánàkázì ò-mú-ʻkwámè
SP2PL-give-FV.SBJV AUG-1.woman AUG-1-man
'give the woman the man' (IO-DO)
*'give the man the woman' (DO-IO)

When direct objects (DO), indirect objects (IO), and instrumentals (IN) appear together, DO-IO-IN is the preferred order. However, they can appear in nearly any order, as long as the IN appears between the IO and DO when they appear in that order (i.e. IO-IN-DO, but *IO-DO-IN and *IN-IO-DO).

4.3.2. Conjoint/disjoint and infinitive fronting

The marker *-la-*, used in Non-Completive forms, clearly has its roots in a disjoint form found also in Ila (M.63), Tonga (M.64), Bemba (M.42) and Lamba (M.54) (Nurse 2008:205–206; Nurse 2006:193–194; Carter 2002; Hopgood 1940; Fowler 2000; Smith 1964). It occurs in main-clause affirmatives and alternates with a null form, the latter of which occurs in all subordinate clauses and cannot occur phrase finally in a main clause. Verbs marked with *-la-* are accepted and used by speakers in all main-clause affirmative contexts in which null-marked verbs are also used. Null-marked verbs are typically used in term-focus contexts (Güldemann 2003) such as in answers to object wh-questions, as in (118).

(118) a. mùlàsàkênzì? (accepted)
mù-là-sàk-à=înzì
SP2PL-DJ-want-FV=what
'What do you want?'
b. mùsàkênzì?(preferred)
mù-sàk-à=înzì
SP2PL-want-FV=what
'What do you want?'
c. ndì-sak-á è-chì-yùnì(preferred answer to (100a) and (100b))
SP1SG-want-FV AUG-7-bird

'I want a bird.'

It is my impression that the focus functions of the conjoint/disjoint alternation may be weakening somewhat in Totela, perhaps eventually developing into a system with purely syntactic conditioning, where *-la-* forms occur in main-clause affirmatives and null forms elsewhere, but this impression would need to be confirmed with longitudinal research. Interestingly, when *-la-*marked and null-marked forms are contrasted, speakers tend to give null-marked forms progressive interpretations, while forms with *-la-* have habitual or futurate interpretations. However, both forms can be used with any of these interpretations. In some related languages with *-la-* (e.g. Ila, Lamba), the conjoint/disjoint distinction has been lost, although the morpheme has been retained (Güldemann 2003:354; Güldemann 1996:236; Nurse 2008:206); in others (e.g. Tonga), the conjoint/disjoint system is still active. Namibian Totela does not seem to make any conjoint/disjoint distinction, but, like Fwe and some other Zambezi languages (see Gunnink 2016) employs verb doubling with focus and progressive meanings. In Namibian Totela, a *-la-* morpheme is found in hodiernal past imperfectives (119).

(119) ndi-la-samb-i
SP$_{1SG}$-HOD.IPFV-bathe-FV
'I was bathing' (NT)

Infinitive fronting is also found with a focus meaning in Zambian Totela, as in (120):

(120) kú-yèn-á mù-yén-à!
INF-lie-FV SP$_{2PL}$-lie-FV
'you're lying!'

In at least the China Chilao variety of Namibian Totela, infinitive fronting is a common strategy for forming progressives. Fronted infinitives are used in particular when the predicate itself is in focus (e.g. in answer to the question 'What is he doing?') but also have general progressive meaning.

(121) ku-bez-a ka-bez-a i-zi-pula
INF-carve-FV PREHOD.IPFV.SP$_1$-carve-FV AUG-10-chair
'he was carving chairs' (NT)

(122) kana-ku-bez-a a-bez-a i-zi-pula
NEG-INF-carve-FV SP$_1$-carve-FV AUG-10-chair
'he's not carving chairs' (NT)

Interestingly, a morpheme *-(a)la-/-(a)ra-* also appears in some varieties of Namibian Fwe as a marker of remote future. The morpheme is illicit in dependent clauses (Hilde Gunnink p.c.). Zambian Fwe lacks this marker, and also employs a fronted-infinitive construction with verbal focus and/or progressive aspect (see also Gunnink 2016).

4.3.3. Participant marking and agreement

Totela exhibits pervasive noun-class and person agreement. Noun-class agreement markers are given above in Table 9. First- and second-person subject and object prefixes are as in Table 25.

Person	Pronoun	SP	OP
1sg	ímè	ndi-	-ndi-

2sg	íwè	u-	-u-
1pl	íswè	tu-	-tu-
2pl	ínwè / ínywè	mu-	-mi -

Table 25: Person markers

Object marking occurs immediately prefixed to the verb stem. Object markers show a tonal contrast, with first and second person markers toneless and all other markers associated with a H tone (which subsequently shifts to the left). Lexically trivalent verbs such as *-pa* 'give' and trivalent verbs derived with causative or applicative extensions can take two object prefixes; the indirect object prefix is closest to the root.

(123) mwíz-è $_{H}$ mù-bà-nd-ǰjày$_{H}$-ìl-è!
SP$_{2PL}$.come-FV.SBJV SP$_{2PL}$-OP$_2$-OP$_{1SG}$-kill-APPL-FV.SBJV
'come and kill them [the mice] for me!'

A lexical object can co-occur with object marking only with disjoint verb forms (124). Local doubling is disallowed; that is, an object prefix cannot occur with lexical object or question word in the same phrase (125), although it is licit with disjoint marking, especially with a clear intonational break.

(124) Jacky à-*(lá)-bà-tòbèl-à, à-bà-chèchè
Jacky SP$_1$-*(DJ)-OP$_2$-seek-FV AUG-2-child
'Jacky is looking for them, the children'

(125) *a-(la)-ba-tobel-a=ni?
SP$_1$-(DJ)-OP$_2$-seek-FV=who
intended: 'who is he looking for?'

Object marking is, in general, optional, although it appears to be preferred when a lexical object is in topic position (OSV and SOV order).

Even subject markers are optional in some cases. In Zambian Totela, as noted in 4.2.2, narrative morphology occurs without subject marking, and object marking is, as usual, optional–even without an overt object in the clause or in surrounding clauses, as is the case for the line from a narrative given in (126).

(126) kú-kwàt-à kù-nèns-à kù-nèns-à
NARR-grasp-FV NARR-beat-FV NARR-beat-FV
'[then she] caught [him and] beat [him and] beat [him]'

Narrative morphology in Namibian Totela is optionally marked for the subject, as in (127).

(127) Izoona ka-ndi-yend-a mu-lu-ole. Mpahonaho
yesterday PREHOD.IPFV-SP$_{1SG}$-walk-FV 17-11-forest suddenly
'Yesterday I was walking in the forest. Suddenly

ndi-ku-lyat-a ha-lu-kungwe. **a-ku-ndi-sum-a** he-tende.
SP$_{1SG}$-NARR-step-FV 16-11-snake **SP$_3$-NARR-1.OP-bite-FV** 16.5-leg
I stepped on a snake. **It bit me** on the leg.

Ndi-ku-tol-a i-buwe noku-sonz-a noku-dam-a.
SP1SG-NARR-pick.up-FV 5-stone COM.NARR-throw-FV COM.NARR-hit-FV
I picked up a stone and threw [it] and hit [the snake].

A-ku-fwa
SP3-NARR-die.FV
It died' (NT; text from Dahl 1985:205)

Speakers employ a variety of strategies for resolving noun-class agreement clashes. Two human (or class 1a) nouns take class 2(a) plural forms; non-human nouns from different classes typically take class 10 (/8) agreement morphology when conjoined. When a human and non-human noun are conjoined, either class 2 or class 10 (=8) morphology is licit, and different speakers choose different strategies (128). However, in most cases, speakers opt for other constructions: for example, the non-human noun may be treated as an adjunct (e.g. 'the man walks with the cow').

(128) Ò-mú-ʻkwámè n-èŋ-òmbè bà-là-yend-a / zì-là-yènd-à
AUG-1-man COM-9-cow SP2-DJ-walk-FV / SP10-DJ-walk-FV
'the man and the cow are walking'

4.4. Clause types

Relative clauses can occur with virtually all TAMN morphology (except for disjoint non-past marker *-la-* and the corresponding stative marker *li*). Affirmative relative clause verbs have a melodic H that surfaces on the penultimate syllable. Subject (129) and object (130) relatives have identical tone; negative relative clauses have the same segmental morphology and tone patterns as their main clause counterparts. Relative clauses can include a demonstrative pronoun agreeing with the relative head (130). Unlike in main clauses, relative clause tone shifts leftward from the subject marker to the final syllable of a preceding word.

(129) ò-tù-yùní tw-à-yîmb-àH
AUG-13-bird SP13-CMPL-sing-FV.RC
'the birds that sang'

(130) ndì-sàk-á òkú-ŋòl-á àmà-kàndé (à-lyá) mwà-kà-wâmbH-à
SP1SG-want-FV INF-write-FV 6-story (DEMP6-DEM) SP2PL.CMPL-PREHOD-speak-FV
'I want to write down that story you told'

Focus clefts, included fronted question words, are also followed by clauses with relative tone.

(131) ndìmé ndà-mì-yèmbèl-él-àH ìŋ-òmbè
COP.PRON1SG SP1SG-CMPL-OP2PL-herd-APPL-FV 10-cattle
'it was I who herded the cattle for you'

(132) chì=nzí mù-sák-àH?
COP7=what SP2PL-want-FV
'what do you want?'

Question words can also occur in-situ, as in (118) above. Common question words include *=ni* 'who', *=nzi* 'what/why', *=ibo* 'which', *=ti* 'how many', *buti(=nzi)* 'how', *=yi* 'where' and *líìlíì* 'when'.

Copular clauses have several morphological forms. Simple nominal predication (e.g. 'the man is a teacher') takes an augmentless noun prefix, sometimes with an additional nasal element (classes 2, 5, 9. 11, 14). The occurrence of the nasal element with these classes, and its optionality, requires further study. It may be that prenasalisation is lessening with predicated forms, as can be seen in comparison with Namibian Totela and with Tonga (see Carter 2002:24–28 for Tonga), where all copular forms (in all noun classes) are prenasalised. Predicated nouns may be pronounced with overall higher pitch, and predicated prefixes are sometimes realised with H tone even if usually toneless, but this tone pattern is not consistent and requires further study. Basic nominal predication can occur with or without the copular verb *-li̱* 'be' (*-ba̱* 'be(come)' with future reference). Forms are shown in Table 26, column I.

Table 26 also shows the prefixes for general copular forms ('it's a …'), also used in cleft constructions. Basic forms, as they appear before e.g. possessive stems, as in class 5 ***ndí*** *lya̱ngù* 'it's mine' are given in column II. Copular prefixes to lexical nouns, as in class 5 ***ndi̱*** *wo̱ngólo̱* 'it's a millipede' are in column III. The forms change somewhat when used with forms requiring connective *-a-*, as with *-sa̱kata* 'good, proper', e.g. class 3 *o̱mùlìlò wàsa̱kàtà* 'a proper fire' vs. *o̱mùlìlò* ***ngwá****sa̱kàtà* 'the fire is (a) proper (one)' (column IV).

Restrictive or contrastive forms have different copular prefixes, also given in Table 26, column V. These are used with nouns and adjectives (e.g. class 6 ***ngá*** *ma̱bi̱* 'they are the bad ones') and with predicative relative clauses, e.g. class 6 *a̱mênzì* ***ngá****tùnywâ* 'water is what we drink'. Similar forms are used with copular demonstratives (see Table 15 above). Tones are not indicated in Table 26 because they change depending on the environment, and underlying tones are not fully analysed.

NC	I Simple nominal predication	II Basic copula (also used in clefts)	III Basic copula before noun prefixes	IV Copular with connective	V Restrictive / contrastive copula
1	mu-	ndi-	nd-omu-	wa-	nde-
2	(m)ba-	(m)ba-	m-ba- / mb-aba-	mba-	mba-
3	mu-	ngu-	ng-omu-	ngwa-	ngo-
4	mi-	ndi-	nj-emi-	nja-	nje-
5	ndi-	ndi-	nd-i-/nd-eli-	ndya-	nde-
6	ma-	nga-	ng-ama-	nga-	nga-
7	chi-	chi-	ch-echi-	cha-	che-
8	zi-	zi-	z-ezi-	za-	ze-
9	ni-	nji-	n-iN-	nja-	n(j)e-
10	zi-	zi-	n-iN-	za-	ze-
11	ndu-	ndu-	n-du-/nd-olu-	ndwa-	ndo-
12	ka-	ka-	ka-ka-	ka-	ka-
13	tu-	tu-	to-tu-	twa-	to-
14	mbu-	(m)bu-	mb-obu	mbwa-	mbo-
15	ku-	ku-	k-oku-	kwa-	ko-

Table 26: Some copular prefixes

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